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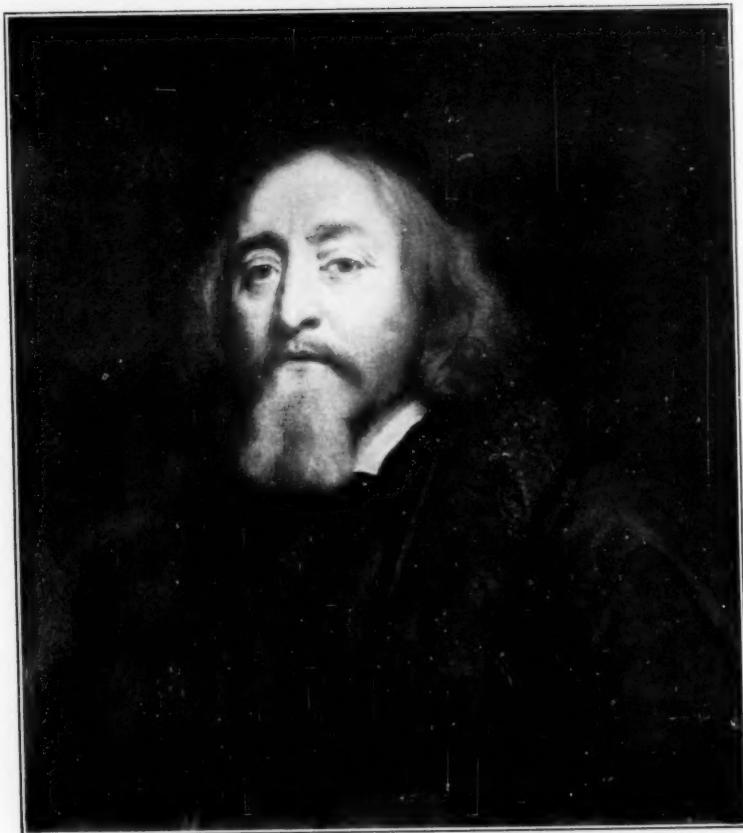
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*Portrait of Comenius by Jurriaen Ovens in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.  
(See p. 144)*

# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. XXIII—APRIL-JUNE, 1932—No. 2

## ESSAIS DE SOCIOLOGIE LINGUISTIQUE<sup>1</sup>

### V. PSYCHOLOGIE ET SOCIOLOGIE DANS LES QUESTIONS DE STYLE

#### 1. *Le Problème*

"Quatuor. . . vero . . sunt . . veritatis offendicula: indignae auctoritatis exemplum, consuetudinis diuturnitas, vulgi sensus imperiti et propriae ignorantiae occultatio" (Roger Bacon, *Opus Major*, I, 1).

"La force créatrice de l'âme n'est que la faculté d'associer, de séparer, de rapetisser ou d'amoindrir les choses fournies par les sens et l'expérience" (Hume, *Human Understanding*, II).

"Le sens d'un mot peut changer dans n'importe quelle direction" (Whitney, *Leben und Wachstum der Sprache*, traduit par Leskien, 1876, p. 83).

TOUS élément de style sort du choix entre les libertés et les licences d'une règle et peut inaugurer la révolution contre cette règle. En tout cas, le style, c'est la partie psychique dans la convention sociale. La convention sociale, c'est la syntaxe. La syntaxe est souple là où la société décide. Elle est sans merci dans le domaine de l'école. L'école est prônée par certains milieux, d'autres milieux l'excrent. Et je cite:

"Julie (lit)—Il avait suffi qu'elle l'aperçoive une fois.

"Jeanne—... çût, aperçût!

"Julie—Ah! tu sais, ne m'interromps pas comme ça, ou bien je ne lis plus. C'est énervant, à la fin, cette pose pour la grammaire.

"Jeanne (timidement)—Mais . . tu ne peux pourtant pas laisser des fautes!

"Julie—Des fautes? . . ce n'est pas des fautes ça d'abord."

(Marcel Prévost, *Nouvelles Lettres de Femmes*, p. 229).

Voilà le "Nouveau Jeu" aux prises avec le "Vieux Jeu".

De même, aujourd'hui, si quelqu'un dit: "permettriez-vous que je passasse", c'est vieux jeu. Mais il y a des milieux qui veulent être vieux jeu, pour paraître sortir de la vieille société. Abel Hermant a décrit un tel milieu dans ses *Grands Bourgeois*. Voyez au chapitre VI:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XX, 1929, pp. 305-325; XXI, 1930, pp. 99-115; XXII, 1931, pp. 1-15. Dans mon dernier article, à la page 2 de ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1.1, au lieu de : "l'original n'est que paradoxal", lisez s.v.p.: "l'original n'est pas que paradoxal".

"J'ignorais que vous travaillassiez". Cet imparfait du subjonctif lui parut une des paroles les plus ridicules qu'il eût émises de sa vie; mais jamais plus il n'eût osé faire une faute de grammaire en la présence de Mme H."

Donc, les soucis de style du poète étant bien des fois sociaux, impossible de faire de la stylistique sans faire de la sociologie. Mais les intentions sociales ne sont pas toujours aussi claires que dans le roman de M. Abel Hermant et dans la pièce de M. Prévost. Dans le *Nouveau Jeu*, M. Lavedan fait dire à Riquiqui, petite femme qui est la maîtresse du peintre Buranty (I, 3) :

"Riquiqui—C'est pourtant honorable d'offrir des cadeaux à sa petite amie".

Impossible de deviner que Lavedan a fait parler la petite grue avec intention dans le haut style, pour souligner le ridicule de son point de vue. Ce n'est qu'en comparant ces lignes avec les lignes correspondantes et antérieures du roman que l'on aperçoit clairement les soucis de style de l'auteur :

"Louise Brunoy—C'est pourtant bien, un homme qui offre des cadeaux à sa petite amie".

La version du roman est du style parlé, tel qu'il est en usage dans ce milieu. La version du drame est littéraire : Riquiqui dit "honorable d'offrir", ce qui détonne, le peuple ne le disant pas. "C'est bien un homme qui offre", voilà le français populaire parlé. D'abord la constatation ou la qualification : "c'est bien", ensuite la proposition relative. Voyez les proverbes : *Jean qui rit et Jean qui pleure; pierre qui roule n'amasse pas mousse*; des titres comme : *L'homme qui assassina*; des dictons enfantins : "L'homme qui porte et n'en sait rien!" Les enfants attachent au dos de leurs camarades quelque objet à leur insu en chantant ceci derrière eux. Voyez aussi Tobler, *Beiträge*, I, 36.

Ainsi Riquiqui détonne comme les Grands Bourgeois en disant : "C'est honorable d'offrir". Elle détonne par la correction de sa forme et l'incorrection du contenu de sa phrase qui exprime la morale d'un amour immoral.

Autre exemple : Balzac dans une de ses meilleures nouvelles, *l'Interdiction*, introduit un juge probe et bienfaisant dans le milieu d'une marquise à la mode, mais d'une morale en affaires assez douteuse. Je lis à la page 77 des *Œuvres Complètes*, t. 25, Paris, Werdet, 1836 (première édition de *l'Interdiction*) :

"Et l'ameublement de l'hôtel a dû coûter gros".

C'est le juge qui dit *gros*, mot vulgaire que nous avons étudié dans un article précédent et qui est imprimé en italiques, dans la nouvelle, pour souligner l'impair :

"Plus de cent mille francs", répondit la marquise, qui ne put s'empêcher de sourire de la vulgarité du juge".

C'est le juge qui détonne ici, non en jouant un personnage, mais en gardant le sien, et en employant son style de tous les jours dans un salon élégant. Tout cela, de la part de l'auteur, c'est de la psycho-sociologie.

*Les Grands Bourgeois, Riquiqui* emploient le haut style avec intention pour s'assimiler au milieu dans lequel ils se trouvent.—*Julie* exècre haut style, grammaire et école puisque son milieu les exècre.—*Le Juge* se moque du milieu, il n'en a souci et il parle simplement sa langue.—Ce sont des traits de psycho-sociologie: les uns subissent leur entourage; d'autres s'assimilent à un milieu de choix; d'autres enfin conservent leur liberté individuelle vis-à-vis de tout milieu. Mais la psycho-sociologie des héros de roman c'est une chose,—et les intentions de l'auteur, c'en est une autre. L'auteur peut avoir eu des soucis de psycho-sociologie; mais il peut avoir eu aussi et surtout des soucis de rythme, de son, de clarté, de clair-obscur, de *trobar clus*, etc.

Lavedan, dans le *Nouveau Jeu*, a eu, en général, l'intention de bien copier son milieu. Les soucis de style ne viennent qu'au second plan. Flaubert a toujours voulu réunir ces deux soucis. Il s'énerve à écrire une langue parlée, qui soit bien écrite. C'est son côté romantique, son aspiration à l'impossible. Mais avant Flaubert, l'aspiration de la plupart des auteurs était de bien écrire et rien de plus!

Comme, depuis 1800, on aspirait à parler comme on écrit, il n'était pas trop difficile d'écrire comme on parle. La littérature classique est sortie des exercices orthoépiques des salons, de la conversation en haut style, des lettres missives élégantes, des doctrines de Malherbe et des traités de Vaugelas. Si on connaît cette langue à fond, il n'est pas trop difficile de juger des intentions de style des classiques. Les problèmes ne commencent à s'embrouiller qu'au 18e siècle, aussitôt que la langue parlée commence à s'éloigner de la langue écrite.

Toujours est-il que le jugement sur le style d'un auteur, surtout si c'est un jugement purement psychologique, trouvé par l'intuition, est peu sûr. Si nous n'avons qu'une seule version du texte à juger, notre opinion est plutôt un jeu qu'une étude sérieuse. "Qui n'écoute qu'une cloche n'a qu'un son", comme dit le juge dans le troisième chapitre de *l'Interdiction* de Balzac. "The single man is an insoluble puzzle". Prenons un exemple: Je choisis *Louis Lambert* par Balzac. Je le choisis parce que le héros du livre, Louis Lambert, a été un des premiers romantiques à enseigner l'erreur que "mot" et "idée" ne font qu'un et à prétendre qu'on peut juger par intuition mystique de l'idée par son terme.

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Dans l'édition des *Œuvres Complètes* de Balzac d'Ollendorf, je lis à la page 4 :

"Souvent", dit Lambert, "j'ai accompli de délicieux voyages, embarqué sur un mot dans les abîmes du passé, comme l'insecte posé sur quelque brin d'herbe qui flotte au gré d'un fleuve."

Qu'en dites-vous? Réfléchissez. Et quand vous aurez fini d'induire ce que Balzac a bien voulu expliquer et ce qu'il a voulu former comme style, je continuerai.

Car, dans la 4e édition de *Louis Lambert*, "revue et considérablement augmentée", (Paris, Werdet, 1836, exemplaire de ma bibliothèque) il avait dit autrement: "... embarqué sur un mot dans les abîmes du passé, comme un insecte qui flotte au gré d'un fleuve sur un brin d'herbe".

Aviez-vous deviné juste? Je parie que non. Dans la première version, Balzac avait fait des vers: *comme un insecte—qui flotte au gré d'un fleuve—sur un brin d'herbe*. Mais dans la version définitive, il a eu des soucis plutôt logiques:

- 1) j'ai accompli — 2) embarqué sur un mot — 3) dans les abîmes du passé;
- 1) comme un insecte — 2) posé sur quelque brin d'herbe — 3) au gré du fleuve.

Aviez-vous deviné à priori, par intuition, que Balzac avait d'abord formé sa phrase à la Flaubert, par l'ouïe, rythmant les sons, et que, plus tard, il a cassé le rythme pour rendre parallèles les éléments logiques de l'image? D'abord, le "voyageur" (l'ami Lambert et l'insecte), puis le "véhicule" (le mot et la feuille) et enfin la route (le passé et le fleuve)? La marche de la pensée balzaciennne n'est pas constatale par l'intuition. Et il en serait de même pour tout travail qui a été refait plusieurs fois. Je pense ensuite qu'on ne me répondra pas qu'il existe des pièces en vers ou en prose dont nous ne connaissons pas de versions antérieures. Nous ne les connaissons pas. Mais admettre qu'elles n'ont pas existé, c'est une pure fiction. En général ce qui a été écrit, a été remanié plusieurs fois, d'abord par la pensée et ensuite par l'écrit. Si on n'a pas au moins une version antérieure sous les yeux, impossible de deviner quel a été le souci ou plutôt les soucis de l'auteur. Car ces soucis et ces associations sont des plus variés: la force créatrice de l'âme associe et dissocie, ôte et ajoute ce qui lui passe par la tête. Impossible de deviner la direction que choisira l'imagination. Voyez les citations de Hume et de Whitney au commencement de ce travail. Ajoutez la suivante: "When a man has a good memory . . . he cannot draw one thought from his mind, without a dozen others trailing out behind it." (Conan Doyle, *The Great Shadow*, premières pages). Un seul point ne fixe pas de direction. Mais si deux points sont connus, la direction l'est aussi.

Nous pouvons donc juger de toute locution dont l'auteur ou le créateur sont connus comme personnalité et comme membre d'un certain milieu. Le jugement ne sera que possible, si nous n'avons qu'une seule version de son texte et aucune indication de contemporains, d'amis de l'auteur ou de l'auteur lui-même, sur ses intentions. Il pourra être certain, si nous possédons plusieurs rédactions et des indications sur ses intentions.

Mais si le créateur est inconnu, la recherche de ce qu'il a bien voulu dire ne peut aboutir qu'à des opinions plus ou moins douteuses.

## 2. *Le Style des 'Précieuses Ridicules'*

En général, celui qui voudra faire des études de stylistique *sérieuses* se restreindra à des textes où plusieurs versions ont été conservées. Car la version antérieure trahira souvent quels ont été les soucis de l'auteur. Néanmoins, pour les études scolaires, même pour les exercices de l'enseignement supérieur servant non à former des savants, mais de bons professeurs sachant interpréter les textes, une explication artistique paraît nécessaire. Je dis interprétation artistique, et tout est dit si cette espèce d'interprétation évite toute aspiration scientifique. L'explication artistique ne comporte qu'une opinion. Elle ne juge pas. Elle donne des possibilités. Son contraire peut être juste aussi. Sa méthode est donc dialectique dans un sens, qui dans la science moderne joue un rôle assez funeste, parce que les maîtres ne se rendent pas compte de ce que le jugement ne tolère aucune dialectique,—tandis que l'opinion la demande.

Il est clair qu'une telle dialectique ne saurait reposer exclusivement sur le goût du maître: une connaissance irréprochable de la langue, de son évolution est la base indispensable pour toute opinion sur le style d'un auteur.

M. Lanson a travaillé dans ce genre avec toutes les connaissances nécessaires, avec beaucoup de goût et sans pédantisme. La question se complique, si l'école n'est pas nationale et si ce sont des Anglais qui veulent émettre leur opinion sur un texte allemand, par exemple. Elle est plus compliquée encore, si l'homme moderne émet des opinions sur un texte d'une langue médiévale ou de l'antiquité. Il est probable qu'il n'y a pas mal de textes qui se passent d'opinions sociologiques et qui sont bien expliqués par les soucis de goût de leurs auteurs, donc par des catégories purement ou principalement psychologiques. Mais, en général, le plus petit trait stylistique est dit ou écrit avec intention. Il ne veut pas plaire qu'à son créateur, il veut plaire à celui qui l'entend, à celui qui le lit. Il ne veut pas se suffire uniquement à lui-même, il veut se distinguer de ce qui est bourgeois.

ois ou marchand, de ce qui est *vieux jeu* ou *nouveau jeu*, de ce qui est pédant ou rosse.

Je choisis comme objet d'une étude sur cette matière les *Précieuses* de Molière, parce que les soucis de style de l'auteur disparaissent devant son souci de bien copier ses modèles, et que nous pouvons donc faire de la sociologie linguistique en nous demandant à chaque pas: pourquoi la société précieuse a-t-elle dit ainsi?

Nous n'avons qu'une seule version des *Précieuses*. Mais l'intention de l'auteur étant connue, son réalisme étant à toute épreuve et garanti par le *Dictionnaire des Précieuses*, les romans de Mlle de Scudéry, etc., le problème sociologique est des plus simples et l'opinion à émettre se rapproche du jugement.

### 3. *L'Esprit à Bon Marché*

Tous les milieux tendant à se distinguer d'autres milieux, aussi bien de milieux puissants que de milieux faibles, ils aiment à identifier leur parti à ce qui est le meilleur dans l'homme: l'esprit. Ce sont eux qui ont de l'esprit, plutôt ce ne sont qu'eux qui ont de l'esprit. Les autres sont offusqués par la matière. "Mon dieu, ma chère, que ton père a la forme enfoncée dans la matière", dit Cathos (VI), "que son intelligence est épaisse et qu'il fait sombre dans son âme". Maintenant qu'est-ce que c'est que cet *esprit à bon marché*, comme dit La Grange dans la scène I?

On se rappelle l'entrée de Mascarille dans la scène VI: "Holà, porteurs, holà! Là, là, là, là, là, là, là, là." J'ai lu les *Précieuses Ridicules* en classe en Allemagne. Un vieux professeur nous les interprétait. Il écorchait le français, mais son tempérament de feu faisait vivre la pièce. Il nous chantait ce passage. L'accent était allemand, porté sur les premières syllabes, mais les vers de huit syllabes, la chanson qui paraissait un charme dans le sens étymologique du mot, c'était bien cela. Mascarille veut enchanter par des mots. Son souci, le souci des précieux et des précieuses, c'est la forme. Aussitôt Mascarille parle de *l'embonpoint de ses plumes*, comme si ses plumes étaient des êtres vivants.

Nous n'avons pas de rédaction plus ancienne des *Précieuses*, mais nous avons autre chose (VII):

"Marotte—Voilà un laquais qui demande si vous êtes au logis, et dit que son maître veut venir vous voir.

"Madelon—Apprenez, sotte, à vous énoncer moins vulgairement. Dites: voilà un nécessaire qui demande si vous êtes en commodité d'être visible.

"Marotte—Dame, je n'entends point le latin, et je n'ai pas appris comme vous la filosie dans le *Grand Cyre*."

La langue que parle tout le monde est donc déclarée vulgaire. On ne dit plus *laquais*, on dit *nécessaire*, on ne dit plus *être chez soi*, on dit *être en commodité d'être visible*. On ne vit plus de sa vie naturelle, mais on vit d'après le modèle des romans dans le genre du *Grand Cyrus*.

Vivre ainsi, faire de l'esprit, ne pas parler comme tout le monde, c'est *philosopher*. De même, la société galante du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle croira faire de la philosophie en se démettant de tout préjugé social; de même, les âmes romantiques et lyriques du XIX<sup>e</sup> et du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle croiront faire de la philosophie en cherchant des symboles et des allégories. Est-ce avoir de l'esprit que de dire *nécessaire* au lieu de *domestique*? Non, ce doit avoir été le côté négatif du parti: on n'invente pas le mot, il a été inventé par d'autres, mais on le dit, parce que c'est la mode. Ainsi qu'aujourd'hui on dit idéalisme, création, valeur. Je ne sais pas si *l'embonpoint des plumes* est une invention due à Mascarille, ou, plus exactement, si Molière a inventé cette allégorie dans le style des autres allégories précieuses. N'importe! Ce n'est pas cela qui m'intéresse ici.

Ce qui m'intéresse, c'est la définition de ce terme précieux: *esprit*. *Nécessaire*, c'est une "qualité" employée pour qualifier un "individu"; *l'embonpoint des plumes*, c'est une "qualité humaine" choisie pour qualifier une "chose"; le *conseiller des grâces* (VII, le miroir), c'est encore une allégorie; la *réflexion de votre odorat* (X), c'est une confusion entre catégories sensibles et intellectuelles, c'est l'idéalisation d'un sens. Dans les scènes X à XIII, la galanterie est comparée de même au *siege d'une forteresse*, ce qui est un lieu commun de tous les poètes. Naturellement, Molière, qui veut ridiculiser les Précieuses, exagère le quiproquo, les allégories, les comparaisons, les images.

"Mascarille—Moi, je dis que nos libertés auront peine à sortir d'ici *les braies nettes*. . .

"Madelon—Que tout ce qu'il dit est naturel! Il tourne les choses le plus agréablement du monde.

"Cathos—Il est vrai qu'il fait une furieuse *dépense* en *esprit*."

Inutile d'analyser cette allégorie malpropre exprimant la liberté de Mascarille, inutile d'approfondir la matérialisation métallique de son esprit. L'esprit des Précieuses, c'est du symbolisme. C'est ce symbolisme que Boileau combattait en disant: "J'appelle un chat un chat". C'est ce symbolisme que La Grange qualifie en disant: "Il n'y a rien à meilleur marché". En effet, le symbolisme n'a ni frontière ni impossibilité. Il est amusant, parce qu'il est illogique et qu'il fait réfléchir à ce que l'auteur a bien pu penser, a bien voulu dire. Il est amusant, mais il n'est ni franc ni sincère.

Du reste, il faut en convenir, Molière, en combattant la mode précieuse et en rendant Mademoiselle de Scudéry responsable de ce style, a été in-

juste. Mademoiselle de Scudéry avait fait la distinction suivante: s'il s'agit d'être amusant, l'esprit est à sa place;—mais s'il s'agit d'être sincère, il ne l'est pas! Ainsi, nous lisons dans *Clélie*, à la page 1124 de la première édition:

"Adieu! je vous demande pardon d'avoir voulu avoir de l'esprit en écrivant."

C'est Clélie qui écrit cette lettre à son amoureux Aronce. Amilcar lit la lettre et y ajoute le commentaire suivant:

"Ha, Madame," luy dit-il, "que vous me faites un grand plaisir de demander pardon à Aronce, d'avoir mis trop d'esprit dans votre Billet. Il est certain qu'il n'en faut pas trop avoir en billets ni en Lettres d'amour. . . il n'y faut point de grandes paroles, il ne faut pas aussi parler comme le peuple, il n'y faut ni trop d'art, ni trop de négligence, il n'y faut point de bel esprit." Le persiflage de Molière est beaucoup plus à sa place vis-à-vis d'autres précieuses et précieuses: ainsi les *Oeuvres Galantes* de M. Cotin, par exemple, seconde édition, 1665 (ex. de ma bibliothèque) contiennent le galimatias suivant:

"Vous avez trouvé une nouvelle philosophie d'Amour. . . Les dames ont du feu dans les yeux, pour éclairer et non pour brûler le monde, . . pour aimer, vous n'en perdez ni le repos ni le repas, . . vous ignorez ce que c'est que des fers et des feux, des chaînes et des prisons", etc.

C'est pis quand on passe à la poésie. Il n'y a qu'allégorie et symbolisme. Les dictionnaires de la fable nourrissent les poètes d'images et de comparaisons. Tout contribue à falsifier la vie et la pensée.

#### 4. *Négation de la Vie, Théorie du Goût et de l'Intuition*

La préciosité, au fond, c'est un mouvement idéaliste et romantique, c'est la négation de la vie réelle au profit d'une vie fictive. La source de la préciosité, ainsi que de tout mouvement idéaliste ou romantique, c'est le mépris de la vie réelle. Ce mépris peut sortir d'une source sociale: un groupe se déclare trop précieux pour la vie unanime.—Il peut sortir d'une idée plus ou moins philosophique: la vie paraît incompréhensible ou mauvaise. Naturellement, pessimisme et optimisme sont des fictions d'intelligences ou bien trop étroites ou bien encore peu mûres. La vie paraît incompréhensible à celui qui n'est pas assez intelligent pour la comprendre, à celui qui ne pense pas assez clairement pour la comprendre, et enfin à celui qui la dénigre, parce que c'est la mode. On est triste, on est misérable et "on ne parle que de choses mélancoliques" (*Clélie*, p. 610), parce que c'est reçu. Qui dit *pessimisme*, dit *théorie de valeur*: L'Extrême-Orient a inventé le culte et la cérémonie du thé. La vie paraissant sans valeur objective, on trouve, par convention, des valeurs

fictives. On tâche de "réaliser le possible, la vie étant impossible" (Kakuzo Okakura, *Das Buch vom Thé*, Inselverlag).

De même, en France, une espèce de théisme fut introduit par l'invention du salon. La société étant moins philosophique qu'en Asie, on ne nie pas la vie comme total incompréhensible, on ne nie que la vie de tous les jours, la banalité bourgeoise, la société mal élevée. Mme de Rambouillet quitte la cour de Henri IV, les Précieuses s'éloignent de tout ce qui est marchand, de tout ce qui est bourgeois. Ils se donnent eux-mêmes une valeur fictive: ce sont eux les Précieux, les Précieuses. Ces dames s'appellent entre elles *chères*, changent leur nom, ce qu'en Extrême Orient on fait de même, choisissent des noms prétentieux qui font ressortir la valeur que ces personnages se donnent entre eux. Ils font l'amour en copiant Cyrus ou Clélie (Scène V).

Quel est le tribunal de ce parti? C'est l'esprit de parti, ce que disent les membres reconnus du parti, *vox populi*: "La renommée accuse juste en contant ce que vous valez." Pour avoir cette renommée, il faut être à la mode, il faut que tout soit de la bonne faiseuse (Scène V et X), il faut parler le jargon précieux, il faut recevoir les poètes en vogue, avoir une académie de beaux esprits chez soi (Scène X).

Toute logique est donc remplacée par des catégories sociales: C'est reçu, on est reçu. C'est le *syndicat d'admiration mutuelle* de nos symbolistes. Ce qui décide de ce qui est à recevoir, c'est naturellement le goût, l'intuition. Paris, c'est le centre du bon goût, "hors de Paris, il n'y a pas de salut pour les honnêtes gens", et ceci "est une vérité incontestable". Tous ceux, toutes celles, qui sont reçus membres du parti, sont "nommés aussi pour être les arbitres souverains des belles choses." Il n'y a pas de valeur objective, il n'y a que des valeurs reconnues par le parti. Quand on s'est engagé à faire valoir une pièce on doit dire: "Voilà qui est beau! devant que les chandelles soient allumées". "Voilà ce qui fait valoir, voilà ce qui donne la réputation".

Et tout cela se fait "sans avoir jamais rien appris", "naturellement et sans étude", *par instinct*, comme on dira au XIXe siècle, *par intuition*, comme on dirait aujourd'hui.

Mais il n'y a qu'un éloge qui soit resté jusqu'aujourd'hui dans toute l'Europe: "le fin des choses, le grand fin, le fin du fin". Toutes ces citations tirées de la scène X.

##### 5. *Esthéticisme*

Le pessimisme étant un point de vue juvénile de mauvais penseur, le scepticisme est le point de vue d'une intelligence paresseuse et peu encline

à subir la méthode d'une abstraction exacte à chaque pas. Tous les deux, pessimisme et scepticisme, se rencontrent dans l'esthéticisme, qui remplace l'intelligence par le goût et la connaissance par la jouissance. L'Asie invente la cérémonie du thé, prenant une demi-heure pour servir à un ami une seule tasse de thé que celui-ci devra boire en trois coups. Il se forme des écoles de théisme, qui amplifient ou simplifient la cérémonie. Les prescriptions règlent la forme du salon, le décor du salon, le costume, la façon de tenir la théière en la nettoyant, de tenir la tasse en versant le thé, etc., etc., jusque dans les moindres détails. Le résultat, c'est un thé véritable, ressemblant à de l'eau, dans laquelle on aurait cuit des épinards, et en ayant un peu le goût. Ce n'est pas mauvais, mais que ce soit d'un goût incontestable, c'est une fiction, comme tout théisme, comme tout esthéticisme, comme toute théorie de valeur.

Dans l'esthéticisme, toute opinion s'émet par goût, et ce goût sort de l'esprit de parti qui, lui, est dicté par quelque théorie de valeur, par quelque fiction d'idéal ou de formule axiomatique. L'opinion partant d'un point de vue subjectif peut être, objectivement, d'une fausseté révoltante.

"Mascarille—Avez-vous remarqué ce commencement, *oh! oh!*... comme un homme qui s'avise tout d'un coup, *oh! oh!* la surprise... .

"Cathos—... Ce sont là de ces choses qui ne se peuvent payer.

"Mascarille—... J'aimerais mieux avoir fait ce *oh! oh!* qu'un poème épique. . . . *Tapinois, en cachette*: il semble que ce soit un chat qui vient prendre une souris".

C'est comme aujourd'hui. Par scepticisme, ce qui est la paresse de l'intelligence, on ne discute plus de ce qui est vrai et de ce qui ne l'est pas, mais on discute du beau et du laid, des intentions artistiques d'un auteur, de la valeur d'œuvres d'art, de la valeur de théories, de la valeur de marchandises, donc de toutes les énigmes psychiques plus ou moins insolubles.

*De gustibus non disputandum!* Car qui ne voit que des valeurs ne voit rien. C'est un résultat général de la science moderne que toute valeur axiomatique rend le jugement impuissant. Ce n'est qu'au delà de cette valeur axiomatique que se pose la question essentielle: "Qu'est-ce que c'est?" L'Asie enseigne depuis longtemps que toute clarté ne commence qu'au delà du beau et du laid.

Roger Bacon n'a pas dit autre chose en nommant les quatre causes de l'erreur: l'autorité, la mode, le manque d'expérience et la bêtise. Ces quatre ennemis de la connaissance remplaceront toujours, hélas, l'étude par l'esprit de parti, l'expérience par la tradition, les choses et leurs rapports par des symboles, des allégories, des fétiches ou quelques totems, la vérité par quelque théorie de valeur.

### 6. Résumé

Résumons. La théorie des Précieuses, c'est le Nouveau Jeu de la société de 1650. Un peu plus profonde que celle de 1880, elle repose toutefois sur des négations purement sociales et non philosophiques, quoique la société précieuse se soit toujours piquée de philosophie. Le *nouveau jeu* des Précieuses est purement formel: il croit avoir tout fait en proclamant le symbolisme, en le baptisant *esprit*, en posant comme à priori l'arbitrage souverain du parti, de son goût, de son intuition, en confondant "opinion" et "jugement". Ses soucis ne sont que superficiels: il s'agit de parler, de faire l'amour, de rechercher la société des membres du parti, ainsi que le décrit le roman contemporain. Molière n'a fait que copier ce qu'il avait sous les yeux. Il a mis sur pieds les Amilcars et les Clélies, en exagérant la diction, en choisissant des quiproquos ridicules pour ridiculiser la méthode, en faisant singer les Clélies par des pecces de province et les Amilcars par des laquais. Gorgibus, le père bourgeois *vieux jeu*, ennemi juré de tout ce qui est *nouveau jeu*, de tout ce qui est à la mode, donc inutile, souligne la morale et finit la pièce en disant:

"Et vous, qui êtes cause de leur folie, sottes billevesées, pernicieux amusements des esprits oisifs, romans vers, chansons, sonnets et sonnettes, puissiez-vous être à tous les diables."

Molière-Gorgibus n'a pas été seul à se plaindre de la valeur exagérée donnée à la poésie. Un siècle plus tard, Pierre Bayle a dit la même chose en d'autres termes et Leibniz, qu'une autre préciosité, qu'une autre idée de valeur forçaiient à rédiger ses écrits en français, l'a répété:

"M. Bayle lui-même juge avec raison qu'il y a plus d'artifice dans l'organisation des animaux que dans le plus beau poème du monde, ou dans la plus belle invention dont l'esprit humain soit capable." (Leibniz, *Essais de Théodicée*, Berlin, 1840, p. 28).

Les sources de toute théorie de valeur sont toujours les mêmes. Ainsi ses conséquences coïncident aussi. Voyez Gorgibus-Molière.

Une valorisation exagérée de l'art tue la science et surtout la philosophie. Et ce qui est le plus curieux de la chose, elle tue l'art aussi. Ce qui reste, c'est un enthousiasme vide et impotent.

### VI. *La Stylistique en Ancien Français*

Puisqu'on lit des textes d'ancien français dans les cours universitaires, il est juste de se demander si une interprétation linguistique suffit ou s'il ne serait pas de rigueur, au moins pour les textes classiques comme Roland ou Chrétien de Troies, d'accompagner l'interprétation philologique de commentaires esthétiques.

Voilà ce que M. Winkler, professor à Vienne, a essayé, entre autres,

dans une petite stylistique qu'il a intitulée: *Grundlegung der Stilistik*, ce qui veut dire: *Les Bases de la Stylistique*. Il ne commence pas trop mal: 4. *La "subjectivité" de la science du style*. Chaque effet est subjectif. L'expérience ("Erlebniss") des valeurs de style est absolument personnelle. Impossible de saisir les valeurs du style "objectivement". C'est bien. M. Winkler n'aurait qu'à remplacer *science du style* par *doctrine du style* et personne n'aurait rien à redire. Mais ne voilà-t-il pas que, de son point de vue subjectif, M. Winkler commence à faire de la critique objective, ou plutôt qu'il donne pour telle!

Et nous lisons à la page 112 les vers suivants tirés du *Brut* de Munich et cités d'après mon *Altfranzösisches Elementarbuch*:

"Il ne s'esparten pas de rien  
Li Francheis ne li Troien.  
N'unt cure Franc ne Poitevin  
Troien soient lur voisín."

C'est en partant de ce passage que j'avais dit dans ma grammaire:

"Des compagnies de certaines nations ou de tribus sont nommées des fois *li Francheis* et *li Troien*, une autre fois *Francheis* et *Troien*. On voit par là que la convention syntaxique n'est pas encore rigide et que les interlocuteurs sont encore libres de désigner une compagnie comme 'définie' ou 'connue'. Du reste, 'définie' et 'connue' sont des étiquettes purement subjectives" (*Altfrz. Elementarbuch*, p. 310).

Ceci n'est pas dans le goût de M. Winkler et, d'après ses Bases de la Stylistique, quoique toute subjective, il juge comme suit:

"C'est une injustice vis-à-vis du poète et de son *mérite*, si Jordan (victime crédule du terme article défini et méconnaissant toutes les nuances de style) pense ainsi".

Et lui, M. Winkler, juge en disant:

"En vérité, la façon de voir ('Ermessen') du poète est extrêmement fine (voyez plus haut) comme style et comme distinction: *Li Francheis* et *li Troien* sont regardés extérieurement et avec l'imagination; Franc, Poitevin, Troien sont pensés et sentis par l'idée et leur valeur. . ."<sup>2</sup>

D'abord, M. Winkler ne voit pas que nous disons la même chose, mais d'un autre point de vue. Je dis *défini* et *connu*, ce qui est constatable, donc objectif: le poète du *Brut* a déjà nommé cette compagnie, ce n'est pas une compagnie indéfinie, comme qui dirait aujourd'hui *des Français, des Troyens*, elle est définie, concrète pour les assistants, parce qu'elle est déjà nommée, déjà présentée par le poète aux lecteurs. Mais il est libre de le rappeler en introduisant ces compagnies avec l'article défini ou de dire simplement,

<sup>2</sup> On pensera que j'exagère: mais j'ai atténué le non-sens dans ma traduction. Il y a en allemand: "Äußerlich phantasiemässig angeschaut" et "begrifflich-wertig gedacht-gefühlt."

d'après la convention de l'ancien français, qui poursuit la tradition latine: *Francs, Troyen.*

M. Winkler, de son côté, explique que présenter les Francs et les Troyens, c'est les montrer à l'imagination du lecteur. Et ceci équivaut, en termes psychologiques, à ce que j'ai dit en termes de grammaire.

Ce n'est qu'à partir d'ici que nous nous séparons. M. Winkler dit que *Franc ne Poitevin* "serait pensé et dit par l'idée et leur valeur". Ce qui, traduit en langue intelligible, veut dire que *Franc ne Poitevin* est dit des "Francs" et des "Poitevins" en général, comme si l'on disait: "Les Francs et les Poitevins en général n'aiment pas les Troyens". Comme le poète de *Gérard de Roussillon* dit:

"Franceis et Borgignon nen ont amor."

Mais cette interprétation de M. Winkler est fausse. M. Winkler a négligé de finir sa lecture. Car les deux vers suivants démontrent que *Franc ne Poitevin* n'est pas dit de "Francs" et de "Poitevins" en général, mais des mêmes compagnies qui avaient été désignées plus haut par *li Francheis!* Car le poète continue en disant que ces mêmes *Francs* et ces mêmes *Poitevins* ne perdent pas leur temps en de vains discours, mais qu'ils se ruent aussitôt de coups. Je cite le passage entier pour fixer le lecteur:

- 1 "Il ne s'esprenant pas de rien  
Li Francheis ne li Troien.
- 3 N'unt cure Franc ne Poitevin  
Troien soient lur voisin.
- 5 Il n'y a tence ne manace,  
Grant estur rendent en la place."

Donc *Franc* et *Poitevin* du troisième vers désignent absolument les mêmes compagnies que *li Francheis* de la seconde. Car s'il n'en était pas ainsi, le poète n'aurait pas pu continuer dans le sixième vers en disant: "Grant estur rendent en la place", mais il aurait dû répéter "Li Francheis et li Troien".

Donc, comme idée, *Franc* et *li Franc* peuvent désigner la même chose. Ce sont, grammaticalement parlant, deux variantes de style qui (naturellement, j'en conviens,) ont eu chacune leur valeur stylistique. Mais rechercher cette valeur dans un poème du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans un poème, dans un *vers de huit syllabes*, ce n'est pas praticable. Et prétendre que *Franc*, *Poitevin*, *Troien* soient "pensés-sentis par l'idée-valeur" paraît plutôt une mauvaise plaisanterie qu'un jugement, même subjectif.

Mais ce jugement ne laisse toutefois pas d'être instructif. Car voici ce que l'intuition de M. Winkler a fait: elle a traduit l'ancien français en allemand:

"Die Franzosen und die Trojaner  
 Schonen sich nicht.  
 Franzosen und Trojaner.  
 Lieben sich nicht als Nachbarn."

Et voilà, en allemand (en anglais cela doit être la même chose), un sens nouveau et tout à fait différent du sens de l'ancien français: les deux premiers vers de cette fausse traduction sont spécialement dits des compagnies en question, donc *définis*, terms de grammaire,—donc *s'adressant à l'imagination*, terme psychologique. Mais les deux derniers sont dits généralement sans distinction de Français ou de Troyens. Ici donc, c'est l'idée "Français" ou "Troyens" dans toute sa largeur, avec toutes ses associations de valeurs, avec toutes ses réflexions et ses sentiments de sympathie ou d'antipathie qui apparaît.

Il n'y a qu'un *mais*: cette traduction est fausse. Le poète du XIIe siècle n'a pas voulu dire ce que M. Winkler lui impute. Et on n'a qu'à lire plus loin pour comprendre ce qu'il a voulu dire. Et voilà l'intuition qui juge du style d'une langue étrangère. Elle remplace la grammaire (en ce cas de l'ancien français) par son sentiment de la langue, ce qui veut dire: elle traduit l'ancien français en ce cas en allemand moderne, et puis elle opine: "Pensé-senti par l'idée-valeur."

Mais la seule traduction juste de ce passage en allemand aurait été celle-ci:

"Die Franken und die Trojaner schonen sich nicht.  
 Die Franken und Trojaner wollen nicht Nachbarn sein,  
 Sondern fallen übereinander her".

Car dans la science, il n'y a ni *vieux jeu*, ni *nouveau jeu*; dans la science, il n'y a pas de *jeu* du tout. Au moins, dans la science sérieuse.

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## LES PASSEPORTS DE CHATEAUBRIAND POUR SON VOYAGE EN ORIENT

(DOCUMENTS INÉDITS POUR SERVIR À L'ÉTUDE DE *l'Itinéraire*)

RESQUE aussitôt que Chateaubriand eut débarqué en Grèce, le 10 août 1806, il fut instruit par le consul de France à Coron, M. Vial, que son passeport français ne lui suffirait pas pour voyager dans un pays soumis à l'empire ottoman.<sup>1</sup> Il se dirigea donc, en toute hâte, vers Tripolitza, résidence du pacha de Morée, pour avoir le firman de poste qu'il lui fallait. Il y arriva le 14 août et, le lendemain, il alla chez le drogman de son excellence faire sa demande.<sup>2</sup> Suivent deux épisodes des plus plaisants de *l'Itinéraire*: l'entrevue du noble Français avec le drogman et l'audience d'un Tartare en robe longue et en turban.<sup>3</sup> Nous aimons à rappeler cette excellente mascarade au lecteur: elle mérite d'être relookée. Pour nous borner à ce qui nous intéresse, nous nous contenterons de signaler ici que le pèlerin finit par se faire accorder le firman de poste et l'ordre nécessaire pour passer l'isthme de Corinthe.<sup>4</sup>

Plus tard, à Constantinople, le grand voyageur devait, de nouveau, s'occuper de semblables détails ennuyeux. Cette fois, les frères Franchini, premiers drogmans de l'ambassade de France, se mirent à son service et lui obtinrent, par l'ordre de l'ambassadeur Sébastiani, les papiers d'identité nécessaires pour son pèlerinage à Jérusalem et pour les autres pays qui se trouvaient sous la domination turque.<sup>5</sup>

Chateaubriand chérissait ces documents officiels qui faisaient renaitre les souvenirs d'une année de voyage: d'une année toute pleine d'enchantements et de déceptions. C'est, du moins, ce que nous sentons en relisant ces lignes des *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*: "Il n'y a pas jusqu'à mes firmans que je ne me plaise à dérouler: j'en touche avec plaisir le vélin, j'en suis l'élégante calligraphie et je m'ébahis à la pompe du style. J'étais donc un bien grand personnage! Nous sommes de bien pauvres diables, avec nos lettres et nos passe-ports à quarante sous, auprès de ces seigneurs du

<sup>1</sup> *Itinéraire* (éd. Ladvocat), VIII, 33. En citant *l'Itinéraire* nous renverrons toujours à l'édition Ladvocat.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 51-54.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, IX, 55.

turban!"<sup>6</sup> Et, pour nous permettre de goûter son bonheur, il se plaît à nous en donner des extraits.<sup>7</sup> Ces passages, nous les signalerons un peu plus loin, en notes, à leur place.

Un critique sévère de l'*Itinéraire*, le médecin Avramiotti, que Chateaubriand avait visité à Argos, a révoqué en doute l'obtention du firman de poste et du laissez-passer pour traverser l'isthme de Corinthe. Il nous laisse entendre ceci dans un passage de son libelle: *Alcuni cenni critici sul Viaggio in Grecia. . . del signor Chateaubriand*:<sup>8</sup> "Maintenant, écoute un peu, ô lecteur. Premièrement, il est faux que le Pacha puisse ordonner que l'on donne des chevaux de poste quand (aux termes du dernier firman) on ne paye pas au maître des postes de 'l'hogiret', c'est-à-dire la taxe de dix paras à l'heure et pour chaque cheval . . . V. Pour obtenir le *murmur*, laissez-passer pour sortir du 'derven' ou isthme, et qui a une validité de quinze jours à partir de la date à laquelle il est délivré, point n'est besoin de se rendre à Tripolizza. Il suffit de faire écrire à n'importe quel 'Surugi' pour l'obtenir sur l'heure, en donnant une caution, et 60 paras au Muurdar-Effendi (garde des sceaux du Pacha)." Comme la critique littéraire<sup>9</sup> avait estimé l'autorité du docteur Avramiotti nous nous suffissons des commentaires de celui-ci pour expliquer les passages de l'*Itinéraire* qui ont trait aux firmans.

Or, il n'en est rien. Nous avons eu l'heureuse fortune de trouver les manuscrits des traductions des passeports de Chateaubriand.<sup>10</sup> Ce sont les manuscrits mêmes dont le poète s'est servi pour rédiger les passages des *Mémoires* indiqués plus haut: l'empreinte de son griffonage nous en donne la preuve. Ce sont des témoignages d'une valeur capitale pour le contrôle d'une partie de l'*Itinéraire*. Ils nous laissent entrevoir jusqu'à quel point le voyageur avait arrêté son plan. Ils servent à avérer la relation du chevalier

<sup>6</sup> *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* (éd. Biré), II, 531. Pour les *Mémoires* nous renverrons à l'édition Biré.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 531-532.

<sup>8</sup> Padoue, 1816. Le libelle d'Avramiotti qui est assez rare a été traduit et édité dernièrement par Mlle Alice Poirier, sous le titre: *Les Notes critiques d'Avramiotti sur le Voyage en Grèce de Chateaubriand*, Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1929. Le passage que nous citons est emprunté à cette excellente traduction, pp. 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> La critique qui s'est particulièrement occupé de l'*Itinéraire*: Edouard Champion, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, par Julien, domestique de M. de Chateaubriand . . .* Paris, Champion, 1904, pp. 18-19; Alphonse Aulard, "Les illusions grecques de Chateaubriand" dans *La Revue (ancienne Revue des Revues)*, LXXXVIII (1910), 31-40; P. Garabed Der-Sahagian, *Chateaubriand en Orient*, Venise, Saint-Lazare, 1914, p. 3 et *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits, Fonds français 12454, feuillets 16 et 17 (2e partie du manuscrit). Les traductions sont écrites sur papier ordinaire, 30 x 20 cm. La comparaison de l'écriture avec celle des manuscrits de Langlès, qui se trouvent dans la Salle des Manuscrits, nous porte à croire que c'est ce grand arabisant qui aurait fait la traduction de ces documents. On sait que Chateaubriand a consulté Langlès en rédigeant l'*Itinéraire* et qu'une traduction d'un traité arabe faite, par celui-ci, figure au tome III des quatre premières éditions de l'*Itinéraire*.

errant. Ils ont leur charme aussi: ils ajoutent, s'il en fallait, une teinte orientale aux tableaux du grand peintre. Ces documents n'ont, semble-t-il, jamais été publiés intégralement. Nous nous faisons donc un plaisir de les reproduire sans nous permettre la moindre rectification. Nos notes serviront d'explication et de commentaire.

"No. 7<sup>11</sup> Firman donné Par OSman Seïd Pacha de<sup>12</sup> Morée.

"Hommes de loi des bourgs de Misistra, de<sup>13</sup> . . .<sup>14</sup> et d'Argos, aux<sup>15</sup> Cadis, Nababs, Effendis, de qui puisse la sagesse s'augmenter encore; Honneur de vos Pairs et de nos Grands; par<sup>16</sup> qui voit votre maître, qui le remplacez dans chacune de nos Jurisdictions, Gens en Place; et Gens d'affaires, dont le crédit ne peut que croître; Nous vous mandons, qu'un noble Parisien<sup>17</sup> de france, Un noble (particulièrement) de Paris, muni de cet ordre, ayant sollicité la permission et expliqué son intention<sup>18</sup> pour son escorte a sollicité la permission et expliqué son intention de passer par chacun<sup>19</sup> des pays et<sup>20</sup> lieux et positions qui sont de vos jurisdictions, et aller (c'est à dire)<sup>21</sup> afin de se rendre à Athènes qui est un isthme, hors de-là (qui forme un isthme (l'Attique)<sup>22</sup> séparé de vos Jurisdictions.

"Vous (donc, Effendis, Vaiyodes, et tous autres désignés ci-dessus, quand le susdit Personnage arrivera aux lieux de vos Jurisdictions, Vous aurez<sup>23</sup> soin qu'on s'acquête envers lui des égards et de tous les détails dont l'amitié fait une loi,<sup>24</sup> qu'il lui soit donné les montures (chevaux de trait ou de somme) nécessaires, qu'il soit bien reçu et bien hébergé, et qu'il ne sorte d'autrui (des mains) de l'un de vous, pour<sup>25</sup> arriver (et n'arrive) dans celles (autrui) de l'autre, qu'en toute sûreté, et sain et sauf.

"Tel est le motif pour lequel le présent ordre a été redigé et composé entre (dans) le Divan de Morée. (Notre etc.) et expédié ou (livré aux mains) du susdit personnage.

"Lorsqu'avec l'aide de Dieu, il vous sera parvenu. Vous vous em-

<sup>11</sup> Le traducteur note en marge: "les pièces ne sont pas traduites par ordre de numéros." E. Bricon qui a dû posséder ces documents déclare en marge: "Je n'ai pas recopié ces firmans."

<sup>12</sup> *à*, écrit au-dessus.

<sup>13</sup> *de*, biffé.

<sup>14</sup> Les points sont remplacés par: (*Sparte*), de la main de Chateaubriand.

<sup>15</sup> *aux*, biffé.

<sup>16</sup> Au-dessus de la ligne est écrit: *Vaiyodes et vous*.

<sup>17</sup> Les mots un *noble Parisien* sont biffés et remplacés par *entre les nobles*.

<sup>18</sup> *ayant sollicité la permission et expliqué son intention*, biffés, et remplacés par: *accompagné d'un janissaire armé et d'un domestique*. En effet, Chateaubriand nous conte qu'il était accompagné d'un janissaire et d'un domestique dans tout le voyage (*Itinéraire*, VIII, 26).

<sup>19</sup> *chacun*, biffé, remplacé par: *quelques-uns*.

<sup>20</sup> *pays et*, biffé.

<sup>21</sup> Les mots, *et aller (c'est à dire)* sont biffés.

<sup>22</sup> (*qui forme un isthme (l'Attique)*), biffés.

<sup>23</sup> Les mots, *le plus grand*, sont ajoutés au-dessus.

<sup>24</sup> Chateaubriand a reproduit cette première partie dans ses *Mémoires*. Il n'y a apporté que quelques petites modifications. Cf., *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, II, 531-532.

<sup>25</sup> *pour*, biffé.

presserez, comme nous l'avons dit, de vous conformer en tout à son contenu, et vous garderez de rien faire ni ordonner qui y soit contraire.<sup>26</sup>

"An 1221 de l'hégire"

(Le sceau porte Ossman Seïd, avec une légende ou devise arabe autour; mais le sceau placé en haut de l'écrit, rend inutile la signature au bas).

[l'hospitalité —<sup>27</sup> se montre d'une manière assez touchante au milieu de la pompe orientale recommandons-nous jamais ainsi un —<sup>28</sup> voyageur aux gendarmes qui visitent nos passeports]<sup>29</sup>

"Mr de Châteaubriant

"No 4

Passe = Port

Mon passeport de Constantinople  
pour Jérusalem porte<sup>30</sup>

"Adresse (au dos)<sup>31</sup>

"Au tribunal sublime de sa grandeur le Cadi de Kouds-Scherif (Jérusalem) très excellent Effendi.

"Très excellent Effendi que votre grandeur, placée sur son Tribunal auguste agrée nos bénédicitions sincères, et nos salutations affectueuses (Mot à mot) Nous offrons à Votre de,<sup>32</sup>

"Nous vous mandons qu'un personnage *noble* de la Cour de France, nommé François Auguste Chateaubriand se rend en ce moment vers vous pour accomplir le *Saint Pélerinage* (des Chrétiens).<sup>33</sup>

"Par une conséquence nécessaire de l'Union et de la bonne harmonie qui ont été obtenues avec une application constante, et comme il est de<sup>34</sup> fait qu'elles sont maintenues entre les deux cours susdites, et qu'elles rendent ainsi indispensables l'acquittement (*sic*) *réciproque* de tous les égards de l'amitié et des devoirs de l'hospitalité;

"Il ne devra point être apporté d'empêchement ni d'ingestion contraire en aucune façon, au passage et au voyage du susdit *gentilhomme*<sup>35</sup> personnage, et des deux serviteurs qui lui servent d'escorte,<sup>36</sup> pour sa sûreté; celà, en conformité des passe-ports dont ils sont munis.

<sup>26</sup> Chateaubriand aurait pu se servir de toute cette seconde partie, inédite, de son firman, pour se défendre contre l'assertion d'Avramiotti que nous avons citée plus haut.

<sup>27</sup> Mot indéchiffrable.

<sup>28</sup> Mot indéchiffrable.

<sup>29</sup> Tout ce passage entre crochets est de la main de Chateaubriand. On en trouvera la variante suivante dans les *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, II, 532: "Protégerions-nous de la sorte le voyageur inconnu près des maires et des gendarmes qui visitent son passe-port?"

<sup>30</sup> Cette phrase est de la main de Chateaubriand. Elle est reproduite textuellement dans *Ibid.*, II, 532.

<sup>31</sup> Ces trois mots sont biffés.

<sup>32</sup> (Mot à mot) Nous offrons à Votre de, biffé.

<sup>33</sup> On trouvera cette première partie du passeport de Jérusalem reproduite avec quelques petites corrections dans les *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe*, II, 532. . Le reste de ces papiers est inédit.

<sup>34</sup> *en, et* écrit au-dessus.

<sup>35</sup> *gentilhomme*, biffé.

<sup>36</sup> Les deux escortes sont: Jean, interprète grec (*Itinéraire*, IX, 57), et le fidèle Julien (Edouard Champion, *op. cit.*).

"Vous observerez donc ce mandat, portant qu'ils soient dirigés et parviennent au but de leur voyage sains et saufs, en pleine confiance pendant leur route; (et —)<sup>37</sup> qu'on s'acquite (*sic*) envers eux rigoureusement, des devoirs de l'hospitalité, et à ce qu'on leur fasse rendre les honneurs qui leur sont dûs.<sup>38</sup>

"Tel est l'objet de l'écrit qui vous est adressé.

"Lorsqu'avec l'aide de Dieu, il vous sera parvenu, vous agirez et vous vous comporterez conformément à son contenu.

"Paix et bonheur éternels.

"Un Sceau, derrière la feuille  
'ce sont les ordres d'Ibrahim'.

"Ibrahim,<sup>39</sup> aujourd'hui pacha de."

Suite des traductions.

"No. 3

"à l'Adresse (au dos) du Commandant ou Gouverneur (Gardien) de Damiette."<sup>40</sup>

"Même contenu en totalité et mot pour mot, que la pièce No 4. Seulement en commençant, et s'adressant au gouverneur, ce compliment très court:

"Modèle des Illustres et des Yeux (des grands par qui voit leur maître, Gardien de Damiette, &c.

"Même signature et même sceau."

"No. 2

"à l'adresse (au dos) du Préposé aux contributions, ou (Gumrukgi) de Jaffa,<sup>41</sup> que sa gloire croisse encore.

"Même contenu, même signature,  
et même scel."

"No. 5. firman d'Alexandrie<sup>42</sup>

"A l'adresse (au dos) du Gouverneur (Gardien) d'Alexandrie,  
Modèle des Illustres et des Grands (Yeux de l'Empire).

"Idem. Idem. Idem."

"No. 6.

"À l'adresse (au dos) du Visir Mukerrem Siégeant à Alep,<sup>43</sup> traité de frère par Ibrahim, qui a délivré les passe-ports.

"Idem. Idem. Idem.

<sup>37</sup> et ainsi que deux mots indéchiffrables sont biffés. On lit au-dessus: *Vous donnerez vos soins à ce.*

<sup>38</sup> Au-dessus de, *leur fasse rendre les honneurs qui leur sont dûs*, on lit: *on bien ait pour eux tous les égards qu'ils méritent.*

<sup>39</sup> Ni dans l'*Itinéraire*, ni dans les relations des voyageurs contemporains, n'avons-nous pu trouver cet Ibrahim.

<sup>40</sup> Chateaubriand n'est point descendu à Damiette: son bateau ne fit que traverser le golfe de cette ville (*Itinéraire*, X, 52).

<sup>41</sup> Pour son séjour à Jafa, *Itinéraire*, IX, 90 et seq.

<sup>42</sup> firman d'Alexandrie, de la main de Chateaubriand. Pour Alexandrie, *Itinéraire*, X, 55 et seq.

<sup>43</sup> Chateaubriand ne s'est pas rendu à Alep.

"Seulement, les 3 mots isolés au milieu de la lettre signifient:

"Très illustre Pacha, modèle des illustres et des Yeux de l'empire.<sup>44</sup>  
"et il faut ajouter au commencement de la lettre, ce protocole, ou  
plutôt ce compliment assez long:<sup>45</sup>

"Très-fortuné, très-honoré, très-cher frère, nous présentons à votre  
Grandeur, dont la présence remplit *ceux qui l'approchent* de félicité, et sur  
laquelle soit honneur et gloire, des vœux bien sincères, capables de vous  
prouver la plénitude de notre amitié, et des bénédictions abondantes, signes  
de la bonne harmonie *qui règne entre nous*. Dieu est grand.<sup>46</sup>

"Nous faisons scâvoir à Votre Esprit, qui brille de l'éclat du soleil le  
plus pur, ô très-fortuné, très-honoré, et très-cher frère, que : &c. &c."

"No. 1

"A l'adresse (au dos) de Soliman Pacha, Visir Mukerrem, Siégeant  
présentement à Seide, ou Sidon."<sup>47</sup>

"Traité également de frère, par Ibrahim.

"Idem. Idem. Idem."

"Ce signe en tête des Passe-ports () signifie abbréviativement: 'Dieu  
est grand.'

"Mr de Chateaubriant."

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<sup>44</sup> Modèle des illustres et des Yeux de l'empire, de la main de Chateaubriand.

<sup>45</sup> Tout ce paragraphe est biffé.

<sup>46</sup> Dieu est grand, de la main de Chateaubriand.

<sup>47</sup> D'après l'*Itinéraire*, Chateaubriand ne s'est pas arrêté à Sidon.

9

## UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF PIERRE BAYLE

(Continued)<sup>1</sup>

### III. A LETTER OF BAYLE TO BISHOP G. BURNET (1690)

THE peaceful Bayle counted a number of soldiers in his family. His cousins, Gabriel and Marc Brassard, were officers in the Dutch army; his nephews, de Bruguière and Naudis, were military men;<sup>2</sup> while another family member, Jean de Bayze, fought with the English army against the Irish.

Paule de Bruguière, the sister of Bayle's mother, married a Mr. de Bayle of Saverdun; and it was at their home that, in 1668, the young Bayle sojourned when he had temporarily to abandon his studies at the Academy of Puylaurens because of illness resulting from excessive study.<sup>3</sup> On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, many of the younger Protestants who were forced to expatriate themselves took service in foreign armies, and Jean de Bayze, Bayle's cousin, joined the English forces. A few years later, we find him recruiting soldiers in Switzerland from among the French Protestant refugees to fight the Catholic Irish.<sup>4</sup> In 1690, Vincent Minutoli wrote to Bayle<sup>5</sup> and referred to de Bayze's visit to Switzerland as a recent event. Minutoli adds, however: "Je suis en peine [de] savoir comment il se sera tiré de la campagne d'Irlande et surtout si sa bravoure ne lui aura rien attiré de funeste aux attaques de Limric" (p. 578).

To favor the fortune of this soldier, Bayle had written almost a year

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, July-September, 1931, pp. 210-217, and *Idem*, XXIII, January-March, 1932, pp. 20-23.

<sup>2</sup> See the incomplete genealogical table in E. Gigas, *Choix de la Correspondance inédite de Pierre Bayle*, Copenhagen and Paris, 1890.

<sup>3</sup> See Haag, *La France Protestante*, Paris, 1877 (2nd edition), I, col. 1056, article Pierre Bayle.

<sup>4</sup> The entire Catholic Irish population, in the English Revolution of 1688, supported James II, who landed at Dublin in 1689 with his French officers, and found at his disposal an Irish army led by Tyrconnell. He passed an act outlawing the partisans of William III, the "Stadhouder" of Holland who became king of England. In 1690, however, William defeated the English forces in the battle of the Boyne on June 14, 1690. He did not succeed in capturing Limerick which was stubbornly defended by the Irish. Eventually the siege of the city had to be raised. The following year, however, the Irish army was beaten at Aughrim, and Limerick was forced to capitulate. The Treaty of Limerick put a temporary end to the hostilities, though it confirmed the English domination.

<sup>5</sup> Letter of December 13, 1690. Cf. Gigas, *op. cit.*, pp. 576-580.

earlier, on January 1, 1690, a letter to Gilbert Burnet,<sup>6</sup> the influential Bishop of Salisbury, with whom he was acquainted, no doubt, since his stay in Holland from about 1684 to about 1689. In any case, in 1689, when Gilbert Burnet was made Bishop of Salisbury, Bayle sent him a letter of congratulations.<sup>7</sup> The unpublished letter here printed pleads for the Bishop's patronage in behalf of Bayle's cousin, Jean de Bayze, the French refugee serving as an English officer. Its text makes it clear that such pleas had been sent at previous occasions, and with good results:

"Mylord,

"On est si persuadé que la Providence divine s'est servie de vous comme d'un des plus puissans instrumens de la liberté publique, et de la conservation de la Religion Protestante, que ceux qui ont eu l'honneur d'être connus de vous en prennent plus librement la hardiesse de vous importuner, se persuadant, Mylord, que votre zèle, votre charité, et tant d'autres vertus que l'on admire en votre personne, vous portent à être le Bienfaiteur des particuliers, pour répondre plus parfaitement aux veuës de la Providence divine qui vous a fait servir à son œuvre d'une façon éclatante à la veuë de toute l'Europe. Je prie Dieu, Mylord, dans ce renouvellement d'année, qu'il vous la donne bonne et heureuse avec plusieurs autres, et je vous suplie très humblement de croire que de tous ceux qui se donneront l'honneur aujourd'hui de vous rendre leurs hommages, il n'y en aura point qui fasse des veux plus sincères ni plus ardents que moi pour la prospérité d'un prélat que Dieu a rempli d'autant de qualités éminentes et utiles à son Église que celui à qui j'ay l'honneur d'écrire aujourd'hui.

"Je finirois là, Mylord, si l'intérêt d'un ami en faveur duquel je me souviens d'avoir pris la liberté de vous écrire à la Haye, et même en Angleterre, et cela avec un tel succès que vous parutes plein de bonté pour lui, ne m'obligeoit à vous suplier très humblement de vouloir l'honorer de vos bons offices. Il s'appelle Mr. Bayze, et est présentement en Irlande en

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715). After an active life as prelate and historian, during which he published many works, such as *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* (1676), *Some Passages in the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester* (1680); *Life of Sir Matthew Hale* (1682), etc., and professed divinity in Glasgow University from 1669 to 1674, he went to the Continent on the accession of James II, having fallen temporarily in disfavor. In 1684 he was presented to the Prince of Orange in the Hague, and when William went to England, he was appointed his Royal Chaplain, and in 1689, Bishop of Salisbury. Burnet was strongly in favor of William III, and his first pastoral letter defending the right of William to the throne because of conquest, gave offense to Parliament, which ordered the work to be burned in public. Bayle's intellectual relations with Burnet dated several years back. In November, 1685, he had reviewed with eulogy, in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, the second part of his well-known *Histoire de la Réformation de l'Église d'Angleterre*, translated by Rosemond (London, 1685). The following year, in October, 1686, he reviewed very favorably Burnet's *Reflexions on M. Varillas' History of the Revolutions that have Happened in Europe in Matters of Religion. And more particularly on his Ninth Book that relates to England* (1682). It is interesting to note that Burnet's second son, William Burnet, was born at the Hague in 1688, and that the Prince of Orange was his godfather. He was made governor of New York in 1720, and in 1729, governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He died in 1729. He is the author of *Astronomical Observations* and *A View of Scripture-Prophecy* (1724).

<sup>7</sup> Letter of July 11, 1689. See *Oeuvres diverses* of Bayle, 1737, IV, pp. 640-641.

qualité de Lieutenant d'Infanterie dans le Régiment de la Melannièrre, ayant servi depuis l'embarquement de S. A. Monseigneur le Prince d'Orange aujourd'hui le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, avec les autres officiers réfugiés qui se trouvèrent ici, jusqu'à cette heure. Sa femme et ses enfans, échappés à grand' peine du Royaume, et arrivés en lieu de seurté, se préparent à l'aller joindre, mais il ne se voit pas en état de les faire subsister avec ses appointemens. Il voudroit donc, si cela se pouvoit, comme il seroit ce semble facile si Mylord s'y vouloit emploier, obtenir quelque autre chose en Angleterre, ou sur mer, ou dans les Fermes. Il a appris l'Anglois et s'y perfectionne tous les jours, et outre sa vertu, et sa probité, il a donné plusieurs marques de sage conduite et d'adresse, en diverses occasions, ayant même été choisi pour aller en Suisse faire levée de soldats Réfugiés dont il s'est dignement acquitté. J'espère, Mylord, que vous ne trouverez pas mauvais que pour témoigner à un ami tel que celui-là, de plus mon allié, ce que je lui dois, je prenne la liberté de recourir à vos généreux offices; et ma liberté en tout cas est d'autant plus pardonnable, que je sais qu'entre tant de qualités des grands hommes qui brillent en vous, vous avez surtout l'inclination à bien faire, et à emploier votre crédit au soulagement des malheureux fidèles. Je conserverai toute ma vie le souvenir de cette obligation, comme si je l'avois reçue en ma propre personne, et serai toujours avec une admiration, et un respect extraordinaires,

"Mylord,

"Votre très humble et très  
obéissant serviteur,  
Bayle."

"À Rotterdam, le 1 janvier 1690."

It is difficult to know, of course, whether this appeal had any direct effect in favor of de Bayze. Soon after, Bayle fell under suspicion because of the accusations of republican and anti-Orangist conspiracy brought against him by Juriel, since he had distributed a *Project of Peace* sent to him by a friend from Switzerland. A letter of December 17, 1691,<sup>8</sup> from Bayle to Mr. Silvestre in London proves that Protestant spies had been trying to read hidden political meanings into one of Bayle's letters to his cousin:

"Si j'avois écrit à Mr. Bayze des choses chatouilleuses sous l'adresse que vous m'aviez donnée, j'aurois été en beaux draps blancs; car j'apprends qu'il a fallu qu'il ait éclairci des endroits où on vouloit trouver des conspirations et des mystères d'Etat. Dieu nous garde de l'Inquisition Protestante: elle seroit dans cinq ou six ans si terrible, que l'on soupireroit après la Romaine comme après un bien."

Even as late as November 22, 1695, Bayle complains to de Bayze that some letters he had sent him, which had not been received, must have been

<sup>8</sup> *Œuvres diverses*, 1737, IV, p. 671, Lettre CXXXII. Bayle replied to these accusations with *La Cabale chimérique, ou réfutation de l'histoire fabuleuse qu'on vient de publier malicieusement touchant un certain projet de paix . . .*, Cologne, chez Pierre Marteau (Rotterdam), 1691. Since even Haag, in *La France Protestante*, gives no information about Mr. de Bayze, beyond telling that he was a "French officer", we shall attempt here to reconstitute the main outlines of the biography of this relative and correspondent of Bayle.

suppressed either by spies or by those to whom he had entrusted them:<sup>9</sup>

“... Mon malheur a voulu qu'elles se soient toujours perdues. Ce n'a pas été par le pur hazard: j'impute cela à l'espionage, sous lequel nous vivons ici. Des gens qu'on croit aller de bonne-foi, sont les premiers à s'imaginer qu'ils trouveront de grands mystères dans les Lettres que je leur aurai recommandées: ils les ouvrent; et n'y trouvant rien de ce qu'ils cherchent, ils ne laissent pas de les supprimer. Vous n'êtes pas le seul à qui j'ai écrit, sans que ma Lettre soit parvenue jusqu'à son addresse.”

He also complains that he has been unjustly represented to William III as a republican, and regrets that he can be of little service to de Bayze at that moment:<sup>10</sup>

“Tout ce qu'il y a de Courtisans savent que mes ennemis ont tant de fois rompu les oreilles à Sa Majesté Britannique des différens que j'ai eu avec Mr. Jurieu, qu'ils sont venus à bout de prévenir ce grand Prince, comme si j'étois dans les liaisons avec ceux qu'on nomme ici Républicains. La vérité est que je ne me suis jamais mêlé que de mes Livres. .”

Jean de Bayze settled in Dublin, where many of his compatriots were living, since there, as in many other localities in Ireland, colonies of French Protestants had been established under the protection of the English government. In Bayle's letter to his cousin of August 2, 1697, he refers to the news he had received from Mr. Drelincourt, the Protestant Dean of Armagh, Ireland, and from Mr. Balaguier, the Minister in the French Church of Dublin. Soon, however, Jean de Bayze found powerful protectors. One of them was Robert, Viscount Molesworth, one of the staunchest partisans of the Prince of Orange, who made him a Counsellor of State and in 1692 sent him as ambassador to Denmark, where he remained until 1695.<sup>11</sup> It may be that de Bayze was made tutor to one of the eleven children of Viscount Molesworth.<sup>12</sup>

Another of his protectors was Dr. Ash, Protestant Bishop of Clogher, in Ireland, with whom Bayle was personally acquainted. One of de Bayze's daughters married Mr. de Moncal who, in 1703, while serving in the English army, had his leg shot off in an attack on Gibraltar. He survived, however, and became in 1727 Major General, or Maréchal de Camp, of the British armies.<sup>13</sup> There can be no doubt that this branch of the Bayle family still has descendants in Ireland today.

<sup>9</sup> *Lettres de Mr. Bayle*, edition of Des Maizeaux, Amsterdam, 1729, II, p. 572.

<sup>10</sup> *Lettres de Mr. Bayle*, ed. cit., II, p. 573.

<sup>11</sup> In 1696 he published an *Account of Denmark*, in which he represented the Danish government as arbitrary and tyrannical, and spoke of religion as a collection of deceptions.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bayle's letter to de Bayze of November 5, 1697. *Lettres*, ed. of Des Maizeaux, II, p. 679.

<sup>13</sup> *Lettres*, ed. of Des Maizeaux, p. 1042.

#### IV. ON THE IMPRISONMENT OF BAYLE'S COLLABORATOR, DANIEL DE LARROQUE (1694)

When in the early months of 1687 Bayle fell ill largely because of over-work, he temporarily entrusted the publication of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* to a young Protestant refugee, then about twenty-seven years of age, Daniel de Larroque. This sign of confidence in so young a collaborator was justified not only by the three volumes he had already published,<sup>14</sup> but also because he was the son of the less famous Matthieu de Larroque, renowned Protestant controversialist, whom Bayle calls "l'un des plus illustres ministres que les Réformés aient eus en France."<sup>15</sup>

In 1690, Daniel de Larroque returned to France and soon was converted or, at least, he simulated conversion, to Catholicism. He eked out a meagre livelihood as a poorly-paid writer in the service of a bookseller. In 1694<sup>16</sup> he composed a preface for a pamphlet in which the government was accused of not having taken any measures to prevent the famine then prevailing in France. The work was seized at the moment that it came from the press. The bookseller was hanged, and de Larroque imprisoned in the Châtelet. The fact that he was reputed to have written the *Avis aux Réfugiés*,<sup>17</sup> or at least to have collaborated on it, may have been a contributory cause for his imprisonment.

<sup>14</sup> Daniel de Larroque (*circa* 1660-1731) was a student of theology. At the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he went into exile in London, where he was for some time a Protestant minister. Later he went to Copenhagen where he was promised a more advantageous post. Since these promises were not kept, he went to Holland, and there met Bayle. By the year 1687 he had published the following works: *Le Prosélyte abusé, ou fausses vues de M. Brueys dans l'examen de la séparation des protestants* (1684); *Les véritables Motifs de la Conversion de l'Abbé de La Trappe...* (1685, a satire against the Abbé de Raucé, also attributed to the Père Boissard); *Nouvelles Accusations contre Varillas, ou remarques critiques contre une partie du premier livre de son Histoire de l'Hérésie* (1687).

<sup>15</sup> Bayle, in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1741, III, pp. 55-56), has devoted an article to Matthieu de Larroque, about whom he also wrote in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, March, 1684, Article V. This renowned Protestant theologian and preacher was born at Legrac (Guienne) in 1619 and died as pastor of the Protestant church in Rouen, in 1684. He had been successively minister of Pujols in 1643 and of Vitry, where he remained for twenty-six years. In 1669 he was elected minister of Charenton, but the government refused to sanction this. He then accepted the direction of the church of Rouen. He wrote a number of controversial works in Latin and French, such as: *L'Histoire de l'Eucharistie* (1669); *Réponse au livre de M. l'Évêque de Meaux, De la Communion sous les deux espèces* (1685); *Adversariorum Sacrorum Libri III* (1688), etc. (On him see: *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*; Nicéron, *Mémoires*; Haag, *La France Protestante*; *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savants*, Avril, 1688, etc.).

<sup>16</sup> The *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* gives the date of this composition and his subsequent arrest as 1693. This date is erroneous as proved by Bayle's correspondence.

<sup>17</sup> *Avis important aux Réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France. Donné pour étrangers à l'un d'eux en 1690. Par M. C. L. A. A. F. D. P. A.* Amsterdam, chez Jacques le Censeur, 1690.

An unpublished letter to Pinsson de Riolles<sup>18</sup> not only fixes precisely the date of de Larroque's misfortune, but it shows how Bayle tried to come, in every possible way, to the rescue of his friend. Pinsson de Riolles was influential, and there can be little doubt that Bayle's friends were instrumental in securing the better treatment which was soon accorded Daniel de Larroque. He was transferred to the fortress of Saumur, and Bayle frequently recommends this "ami de Saumur" to the protection of his correspondents. A letter of Janisson to Bayle of April 9, 1696, proves that Pinsson or he would act as a go-between in transmitting a letter from Bayle to the prisoner:

"Ainsi je croi que vous pourrez à présent lui écrire, cependant je pense que vous ne ferés pas mal de ne le point faire en droiture mais d'adresser votre lettre à Mr. Pinson ou à moi."<sup>19</sup>

"Le lundi 6 de Décembre, 1694.<sup>20</sup>

"Quand j'aurois les plus curieuses nouveautés littéraires à vous apprendre, Monsieur, je ne commencerois point par là. Je suis trop occupé d'une autre pensée qui m'afflige extrêmement depuis que j'ai vu dans nos gazettes que notre ami, Mr. de Larroque, a été mis en prison. Ce fut samedi dernier que les gazettes flamandes l'apprirent au public sur les nouvelles reçues par l'ordinaire du jour précédent. Aujourd'hui j'ai lu la même chose dans une gazette qui s'imprime en françois dans cette ville. Je ne saurois vous exprimer le déplaisir que cela me cause: ce n'est pas que je ne croie Mr. de Larroque très innocent de ce dont il est accusé; c'est d'avoir eu part aux libelles qui ont été imprimés à Paris contre la Cour de France, et pour lesquels justice a été déjà rendue publiquement. Je ne saurois croire que notre ami se soit mêlé de telles choses, mais il est toujours fâcheux d'être arrêté; on peut avoir des ennemis; en un mot vous savez les inquiétudes que la bonne amitié cause. C'est pourquoi je vous supplie très instamment, mon cher Monsieur, de me faire savoir le plus tôt que vous pourrez des nouvelles de cette affaire, et de témoigner, par toutes les voies que vous le pourrez, à Mr. de Larroque la part que je prens à l'affaire qu'on lui suscite, et le désir ardent que j'ai d'être en état de lui pouvoir rendre du service. C'est un nouveau déplaisir pour moi que de me voir hors d'état de lui témoigner efficacement combien ses intérêts me touchent.

<sup>18</sup> With this "avocat au parlement" Bayle had an extensive correspondence for many years, though only two of these letters have been published. We have discovered sixteen more of them, dated from 1693 to 1705. He was the son of François Pinsson (died 1691), a renowned lawyer and author of several treatises on canon law; and the grandson of François Pinsson (died 1643), professor of law at Bourges. Bayle's *Dictionnaire* gives information about this family. The Pinsson de Riolles with whom Bayle corresponded was a friend of the Abbé Du Bos, Charles Perrault, Antoine Galland, J. B. Rousseau, Gilles Ménage and other savants or men of letters of the period. He collaborated on the *Ménagiana*. A letter of Daniel de Larroque to Bayle of 1694, shows that he also was in relation with this intellectual lawyer, after his return to France (Cf. Gigas, *Choix de la Correspondance inédite de Pierre Bayle*, Copenhagen and Paris, 1890, p. 440).

<sup>19</sup> Gigas, *op. cit.*, p. 691.

<sup>20</sup> Published from the Columbia University Manuscript of Letters by Bayle.

"Ayant commencé par cet article capital, je viens, Monsieur, à votre paquet: je n'en savois rien lorsque je me donnai l'honneur de vous répondre, il y a quelques jours, touchant les livres de Grenoble. Depuis, Mr. Leers,<sup>21</sup> ayant défait les balles qu'il a reçues, y a trouvé votre paquet et me l'a envoyé. J'y ai trouvé *L'Esprit de Gerson*,<sup>22</sup> le poème sur Germini, votre lettre sur les Bénédictins morts,<sup>23</sup> les mémoires sur Mr. votre grand-père,<sup>24</sup> et une lettre de votre main. Ça a été pour moi une lecture très agréable, et donc je vous fais mille et mille remercimens, Monsieur. Je n'ai presque rien à vous dire concernant la république des lettres. On fait grand cas d'un livre que Mr. Saurin, ministre de l'église françoise d'Utrecht, a publié contre quelques sentimens particuliers de Mr. Jurieu en matière de théologie. Cet ouvrage est en deux volumes in-8°.<sup>25</sup> On en promet un troisième tome de la même main, qui traitera des droits de la conscience erronée,<sup>26</sup> ce qui servira de réponse au *Commentaire Philosophique*<sup>27</sup> et en même temps au livre que Mr. Jurieu publia contre ce *Commentaire*.<sup>28</sup> Il paroît ici quelques mémoires de Walsingham,<sup>29</sup> enrichis de notes qui apprennent diverses choses particulières tant sur le règne d'Elizabeth que sur le caractère de ses ministres d'état. Cet ouvrage paroît depuis peu et a été traduit de l'anglois.

"Je suis, Monsieur, tout à vous,

Bayle."

"A Monsieur Pinsson des Riolles, Avocat  
au Parlement. Rue de la Harpe, à Paris."

After five years of imprisonment, and after having been transferred to several fortresses, de Larroque was set free, thanks to the intercession of the Abbesse de Fontevrault. He entered, as translator of English and Dutch, the office of the Marquis de Torcy, minister of foreign affairs. Because of his ability, the Regent soon made him the "secrétaire du conseil de l'in-

<sup>21</sup> Renier Leers, a bookseller of Rotterdam. He was Bayle's publisher.

<sup>22</sup> *L'Esprit de Gerson, ou Instructions catholiques touchant le Saint-Siège*, 1691 (a new edition appeared in London, 1710), is by Le Noble, according to M. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes*, but several bibliographers have attributed it to M. de Saint-George, Archbishop of Lyons. It defends the privileges, the immunity and the liberty of the French ambassadors to the Papal Court, which had been contested in Rome.

<sup>23</sup> Another letter of Bayle makes it evident that the "Lettre sur les Bénédictins morts" was written by Pinson de Riolles. In an unpublished letter of 1694 to Pinson de Riolles (in the Columbia University *Manuscript of Letters by Bayle*), Bayle writes: "Je vous suis infiniment obligé, Monsieur, de l'exemplaire que Mr. Leers m'a donné de votre part de votre lettre sur les Bénédictins morts depuis peu. Il n'y a point d'écrits qui soient plus à mon goût et à mon usage présentement que ceux de cette nature, et ils me donnent un nouveau plaisir quand ils sont de votre façon."

<sup>24</sup> François Pinson, about whom Bayle wrote an article in his *Dictionnaire*.

<sup>25</sup> Élie Saurin (1639-1703), opponent of Jurieu. The book here referred to is the *Examen de la Théologie de Jurieu*, La Haye, 1694, 2 vols.

<sup>26</sup> Saurin published this "third volume" separately in 1697. This work, the *Réflexions sur les droits de la conscience*, is a strong plea for tolerance.

<sup>27</sup> By Bayle.

<sup>28</sup> *Des Droits des deux Souverains en matière de religion, la conscience et le Prince*, 1687.

<sup>29</sup> Sir Francis Walsingham (1536-1590), English statesman. Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*. His letters and despatches, written while he was ambassador in France, are printed in *The Compleat Ambassador*, by Sir Dudley Digges, London, 1655.

térieur." Soon after this *conseil* was abolished, but de Larroque received a pension of four thousand *livres*, which permitted him to devote the rest of his life to uninterrupted study. He continued writing, and among his later publications, we may mention his translation of Prideaux's *Life of Mahomet* (1698), his *Vie de François-Eudes de Mézeray, historiographe de France* (1720), etc.

#### V. BAYLE REAFFIRMS HIS THEORIES ON ATHEISM AND THE "ERRING CONSCIENCE" (1694)

In 1694, twelve years after the publication of the *Pensées diverses écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la Comète*. . . . Bayle reaffirmed and explained his principal theories: those on idolatry, atheism, the independence of moral conduct from religious conviction, and the rights of the "erring conscience".<sup>30</sup> This elucidation may have been sent to the learned Belgian Jesuit, Daniel Papenbroeck, with whom Bayle must have been acquainted since he had defended him consistently against the ridiculous attacks of the Carmelites, offended by Papenbroeck's opinion that their Order had not been founded by the Prophet Elijah,<sup>31</sup> as, for example, in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of June, 1684, and again in July, 1684. In the latter issue he discusses at length a violent pamphlet against

<sup>30</sup> This letter is found in the University Library of Leyden, *Collection Papenbroeck*, no. 11. A passage of it has been printed in C. Serrurier, *Pierre Bayle en Hollande*. . . . Lausanne, 1912, p. 195, note 3. We are here publishing for the first time the full text.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel Papenbroeck, or Papebroeck (also spelled Papebroch), was born in Antwerp on March 17, 1628, and died there on June 28, 1714. He was professor in several Jesuit colleges in Belgium. In 1660 he went to Italy with Father Henschen in order to gather documents, in the Archives, for his *Acta Sanctorum*. He returned to Antwerp in 1682, and continued to work for years on the *Acta*. In 1684 he published at Antwerp his *Vita S. Ferdinandi, regis Castellae et Legionis*. He was a broad-minded and learned Jesuit who, in company with the Benedictines, inaugurated the critical study of medieval history. He is reputed to have been the first to evolve critical rules for the reading and detection of falsifications in medieval documents, in his *Propylaeum antiquarium circa veri ac falsi discrimen in vetustis membranis*. He did historically what François de Melle did technically in his *Advis pour juger des inscriptions en faux et comparaison des écritures et signatures, pour en faire et dresser les moyens, voir et descouvrir toutes falsifications et faussetez* (Paris, circa 1620). The doubts he expressed about the authenticity of the Merovingian documents of the Abbey de Saint-Denis incited Jean Mabillon to write his well-known *De re diplomatica*, 1681. (Cf. Schönemann, *Versuch einer Diplomatik*, I, pp. 62-80). In his *Lives* of St. Berthold and St. Albert he decried the fabulous foundation of the Order of the Carmelites by the prophet Elijah, and was violently attacked by members of that Order in several pamphlets to which he did not reply. The Carmelites denounced Papenbroeck's *Acta Sanctorum* in Rome, as full of heresies, but without success. However, they scored a victory with the Inquisition of Spain which, by a decree of November 15, 1693, condemned fifteen of its volumes as heretical, and thus upheld the accusations of Father Sebastian of Saint Paul in his *Expositio errorum quos P. Papenbrochius suis in notis ad Acta Sanctorum commisit*, Cologne, 1693. The Jesuits appealed to Rome and Papenbroeck replied extensively in his *Responsio ad exhibitionem errorum*, Antwerp, 1696-1699, 3 volumes, in-4°. Later the Pope imposed silence on all the parties concerned. (See the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, Nicéron, *Mémoires*, II, etc.).

Papenbroeck and Henschenius. On this occasion he makes an extensive eulogy of Papenbroeck for his perspicacious work on the lives of the saints and the history of the church.

For his theoretical tolerance of atheism and for his doctrine of the rights of the "erring conscience", which denied the reasons for religious persecution, Bayle was attacked not only from the side of the Catholics, but still more violently from the side of the Protestants. His restless enemy, Jurieu, for instance, prevailed upon the Synod of Amsterdam in August, 1690, to condemn any definition of "toleration" which would be too broad or too vaguely indifferent. Among the doctrines thus declared heretical was the following: ". . . Qu'on ne pèche point en suivant les mouvements de sa conscience, quelque mauvaise que soit l'action." This was evidently directed against Bayle, though among the Protestants Bayle was not the only one to preach toleration. Among the pastors in Holland, as well as in England, modernism made rapid progress. The Synod stated than in England there were: "false brothers some of whom taught openly the Socinian heresies, whereas others, more cunningly, were hiding their venom under the veil of a toleration without limits."<sup>32</sup> The proposition as presented to the Synod by Jurieu distorted Bayle's thought. He had claimed only that if one errs in good faith, and according to the dictates of one's conscience, one should not be persecuted or punished, unless the action committed would be contrary to good social order. Nevertheless, he agreed that an error or a sin committed through ignorance remained theologically an error or a sin, though the sinner should not be punished by secular powers; only God would know how to mete out justice in such case.

As far as atheism is concerned, Bayle had only claimed, not that it was desirable or justifiable but: 1) that it was not worse than idolatry; and 2) that a society of atheists could exist and would evolve human moral standards such as honor, chastity, generosity, patriotism, etc. This was a consequence of his other doctrine,— that moral conduct is not motivated by the particular belief one holds, but by what he calls "temperament", and by social influences.

In the following letter, Bayle elucidates his thought on these major points, and condenses what he had previously stated in his several writings:

"A Rotterdam le 29 de juin 1694.

"Monsieur,

"Je vous rens un million d'actions de grâces de la bonne, belle et savante lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Je vous puis protester sincèrement qu'il n'y a rien dans tout ce que vous m'écrivez avec une piété

<sup>32</sup> Serrurier, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

si orthodoxe qui repousse mon sentiment. Adorer une infinité de dieux, non seulement est une franche ignorance de Dieu, c'est n'avoir point de Dieu; car ces dieux multiples résultent des fictions et des chimères de l'esprit humain. L'idolâtrie payenne ne peut qu'être une source féconde de crimes puisque les objets de son culte sont eux-mêmes regardés comme aidant au péché,<sup>33</sup> et qu'ils ne distribuent pas la grâce qui purifie le cœur de l'homme.<sup>34</sup> Quant à l'athéisme, je l'ai dit dans mon livre plusieurs fois, il est nécessairement conjoint avec tous les crimes et tous les dérèglements à quoi le tempérament et les passions de l'athée le déterminent.<sup>35</sup> Il doit s'y abandonner bride abattue, n'ayant aucun remords de conscience ni crainte de l'avenir. Me voilà donc d'accord avec tout le monde. Ce que je dis, et que tout le monde ne m'accorde pas, est que l'athéisme ne pousse point les gens à une vie opposée au tempérament, ne fait point qu'un homme qui, par son tempérament ou par la coutume de son pays ou de la nature du climat (comme en Italie et en Espagne) n'est point porté à l'ivrognerie, devienne ivrogne.<sup>36</sup> Si l'on examine bien cette thèse je suis sûr qu'on me

<sup>33</sup> Bayle had made in his *Pensées diverses sur la Comète* long comparisons between idolatry and atheism, to the advantages of the latter. On pagan divinities he said, for instance: "Ce culte même nourrissoit le vice: il consistoit quelquefois à immoler ou la vie ou la pudeur. On sacrifioit des hommes: on prostituoit des filles en l'honneur des Dieux. Les Romains qui abolirent en divers endroits, à Carthage et dans les Gaules nommément, la barbarie des victimes humaines, immoloient quelquefois des hommes, et n'ignoroient pas que les jeux funèbres, où l'on faisoit périr un grand nombre de gladiateurs, ne fussent une manière de sacrifice aux Manes des morts. L'inhumanité et la cruauté qui sont si contraires au bien public, naisoient de-là nécessairement. Les jeux floraux, les jeux scéniques étoient un acte de Religion: on les célébroit magnifiquement, mais avec des obscénitez si outrées, qu'ils ne peuvent être considérés que comme une école infâme d'impureté. . . . La séduction ou l'enlèvement des personnes de l'autre sexe, et même des beaux garçons, auroit passé pour une copie des actions des Dieux: le vol, l'inceste, la fraude, le sortilège, auroient eu la même prérogative. On s'y seroit donc abandonné sans scrupule de conscience, et même par un principe de Religion." *Oeuvres diverses*, 1737, III, p. 363: *Continuation des Pensées diverses*.

<sup>34</sup> "La connaissance de Dieu ne sert à un Idolâtre qu'à rendre ses crimes plus atroces. S'il y a quelque différence entre l'Athéisme d'un Idolâtre, et celui d'un Athée, c'est principalement en ce que l'Athéisme de l'Idolâtre ne diminue en rien l'atrocité de ses crimes, au lieu qu'un homme qui est Athée, pour être né parmi ces peuples, que l'on dit qui de tems immémorial ne reconnoissent aucune Divinité, trouvera quelque diminution de peine par le moyen de son ignorance; car en bonne Théologie, et par l'expresse déclaration de Jésus-Christ, ceux qui savent la volonté de leur maître, et néanmoins ne la font pas, seront plus sévèrement punis, que ceux qui ne l'ont ni faite, ni connue; ce qui suppose manifestement, qu'il y a plus de malice dans la conduite des premiers, que dans celle des derniers. . ." *Oeuvres diverses*, ed. cit., III, p. 77; *Pensées diverses* écrivées à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la Comète.

<sup>35</sup> L'Athéisme et l'idolâtrie sont deux choses dont la meilleure ne vaut rien" (*Pensées diverses sur la Comète*, p. 266).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Pensées diverses sur la Comète*, Ch. CXXXV: *Pourquoi il y a tant de différence entre ce qu'on croit et ce qu'on fait.* "C'est que l'homme ne se détermine pas à une certaine action, plutôt qu'à une autre, par les connaissances générales qu'il a de ce qu'il doit faire, mais par le jugement particulier qu'il porte de chaque chose, lors qu'il est sur le point d'agir. Or ce jugement particulier peut bien être conforme aux idées générales que l'on a de ce qu'on doit faire, mais le plus souvent il ne l'est pas. Il s'accommode presque toujours à la passion dominante du cœur, à la pente du tempérament, à la force des habitudes contractées, et au goût ou à la sensibilité que l'on a pour certains objets." Cf. also Ch. CXXXVI: *Que l'homme n'agit pas selon ses principes*, etc.

l'accordera. J'ai dit aussi qu'une société d'Athées<sup>37</sup> pourroit instituer sous sa protection des lois humaines qui puniroient sévèrement les injures qu'un particulier voudroit faire à son prochain et, sous la faveur des idées de louange, de blâme, de mépris, d'honneur, d'infamie, qui règneroient dans cette société. Je suis seur que si l'on y songe bien on m'accordera que ma conjecture est vraisemblable.<sup>38</sup> Mais, dit-on, il n'y a que la crainte des peines infernales qui serve de frein à la méchanceté des hommes; et Dieu a ménagé ce frein parmi les hommes afin de maintenir la société. J'avoue que c'est un moyen sage pour les maintenir; mais ce n'est pas l'unique manière dont la providence de Dieu puisse se servir pour maintenir les sociétés par les ressorts incompréhensibles de Sa sagesse.<sup>39</sup> Et pourquoi faire qu'une nation soit sensible à la louange et au mépris, et qu'elle attachat les idées de l'honneur humain, à la bonne foi, à la loyauté, à la modestie, à la chasteté quant aux femmes; et les idées de l'infamie aux vices opposés? Ces lois ou cet usage de louange et de blâme étant une fois passés en coutume, seroient un frein merveilleux, car quelle peine ne prend-on pas pour éviter l'infamie humaine encore qu'on sache qu'elle ne déplait point à Dieu, comme en le litige d'un affront? Quelle peine ne prend-on pas pour se faire louer des hommes quoi qu'on sache que Dieu désapprouve ces louanges, par exemple celles qui sont fondées sur des conquêtes injustes? Sur la conscience errante,<sup>40</sup> je suis tout prêt, Monsieur, à montrer par mes

<sup>37</sup> In Ch. CLXI of the *Pensées diverses sur la Comète*, Bayle gave some "Conjonctures sur les meurs d'une société qui seroit sans Religion", and he declares that a society of atheists would be much the same as a society of pagans. In Ch. CLXXII there occurs the passage to which this letter directly refers. He declares: ". . . Il est apparent qu'une société d'Athées pratiqueront les actions civiles et morales, aussi-bien que les pratiquent les autres sociétés, pourvu qu'elle fît sévèrement punir les crimes, et qu'elle attachât de l'honneur et de l'infamie à certaines choses. Comme l'ignorance d'un premier Etre créateur et conservateur du monde, n'empêcheroit pas les membres de cette société d'être sensibles à la gloire et au mépris, à la récompense et à la peine, et à toutes les passions qui se voient dans les autres hommes, et n'étoufferoit pas toutes les lumières de la Raison, on verroit parmi eux des gens qui auroient de la bonne foi dans le commerce, qui assisteroient les pauvres, qui s'oposeroient à l'injustice, qui seroient fidèles à leurs amis, qui mépriseroient les injures, qui renonceroient aux voluptez du corps, qui ne feroient tort à personne, soit parce que le désir d'être loué les pousseroit à toutes ces belles actions, qui ne sauroient manquer d'avoir l'approbation publique, soit parce que le dessein de se ménager des amis et des protecteurs, en cas de besoin, les y porteroit. Les femmes s'y piquereroient de pudicité, parce qu'infâilliblement cela leur acquerroit l'amour et l'estime des hommes. Il s'y feroit des crimes de toutes les especes, je n'en doute point; mais il ne s'y en feroit pas plus que dans les sociétés Idolâtres, parce que tout ce que a fait agir les Païens, soit pour le bien, soit pour le mal, se trouveroit dans une société d'Athées, savoir les peines et les récompenses, la gloire et l'ignominie, le tempérament et l'éducation."

<sup>38</sup> In *Pensées diverses sur la Comète*, Ch. CXIV to the end, Bayle attempts to establish the reciprocal independence of religion and "bonnes meurs," good moral conduct.

<sup>39</sup> "Je ne prétens point nier que la Religion ne soit un bon frein: je prétens seulement qu'elle n'est pas l'unique base des sociétés." In *Addition aux Pensées diverses*, *Oeuvres diverses*, ed. cit., III, p. 174.

<sup>40</sup> In his *Commentaire philosophique sur ces Paroles de Jésus-Christ "Contrain-s-les d'entrer"*, Bayle had argued for the rights of the erring conscience. Cf. Ch. IX: *Examen de quelques difficultez contre ce qui a été établi . . . du droit de la conscience qui est dans l'erreur*; Ch. X: *Suite de la réponse aux difficultez contre le droit de la conscience errante*. "Tout ce que la conscience bien éclairée nous permet de faire pour l'avancement de la vérité, la conscience erronée nous le permet pour ce que nous croyons être la vérité." Cf. *Oeuvres diverses*, ed. cit., II, p. 422.

livres que je n'ai jamais enseigné sinon que l'on doit toujours suivre le *dictamen* de sa conscience lors même qu'elle se trompe; mais que si l'on se trompe par sa faute on ne se laisse pas de pécher en suivant le *dictamen* de sa conscience. Je crois que c'est l'opinion commune de tous les théologiens qu'il n'y a que l'ignorance véritable qui disculpe. Je vous demande pardon de cette longue discussion et suis avec toute sorte de respect, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

Bayle."

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## MISCELLANEOUS

### A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF TROBAR E ENTENDRE, AN EXPRESSION IN MEDIAEVAL AESTHETICS

I purpose to give an explanation, necessarily tentative in the light of present knowledge, of the Provençal expression, *trobar e entendre*, which occurs as a phrase in theoretical writings, such as the troubadour biographies and the *Razos de Trobar* of Ramon Vidal de Besalu.<sup>1</sup> The following list includes all the examples of the use of this phrase which I have found; among them I include phrases that involve finite forms of *trobar* and *entendre*, wherever the latter appears without an independent meaning that is readily identifiable.

1. "Aquesta donsela era fort corteza e savia e sabia *trobar e entendre*" (Appel, *Chrest.*, #91).
2. "*trobar e ben entendre*, . . ." (Chabaneau, p. 42).
3. "e saup miels *trobar qu'entendre* ni que dire. Mout fo paubres dizens entre las gens; e on plus vezia de bons homes, plus s'esperdia" (*Ibid.* 43).
4. "e sabia ben *trobar e s'entendia be*" (*Ibid.* 12).
5. "e sabia canços assatz, e *s'entendia ben e gen e trobava*" (*Ibid.* 51).
6. "e fetz se joglars, e fo fort subtils de dire e d'*entendre e venc trobava*" (*Ibid.* 31).<sup>2</sup>

The fixed unity of a formula seems to be indicated by the following variants:

7. "et apres deu saber aliques de la natura de gramatica si fort primamen uol *trobar ni entendre*" (*Razos*, p. 71, MS B), of which the C version reads:

"per qui. ieu uos dic qe totz hom qui uol *trobar ni entendre* de saber la natura de gramatica si fort primament uol *trobar ni entendre*."

It is in such a botched manuscript as this that the recurrence, produced as it is without reflection on the part of the copyist, is significant. The following variants show the same sort of phenomenon:

8. MS C: "Tota genz. . . o qe uolon *entendre* o qe uolon dir o auzir. . ." (*Razos*, p. 68).

MS B: "Tota genz. . . o qen uolon *trobar* o qen uolon *entendre* o qen uolon dire o qen uolon auzir. . ."

One more case, from the *Razos*, closes this list:

9. "Totz hom que uol *trobar ni entendre*, deu primierament saber qe neguna parladura non es naturals ni drecha mais acella de Franzia e de Lemozi. . ." (p. 70, Ms B).

<sup>1</sup> 12th and 13th centuries. For the *Razos*, the edition of Stengel (Marburg, 1878), was utilized. The references to the biographies are according to the reprint of Chabaneau, except for one case from Appel's *Chrestomathie*.

<sup>2</sup> We are dealing with a noun in the last instance, but the unity of the expression is not disturbed; we could have said as easily: "e fo subtils de dire e d'*entendre e de trobar*."

All we can point to, thus far, is the presence of two verb-forms expressing artistic activity, *trobar* and *entendre*, with a third one, which appears in examples 3, 6, and 8, namely *dire*. We can say that *trobar* is clear, that *dire* can also be easily explained, but that *entendre* offers difficulty.

The first of the three verbs is thus explained by the *Leys d'Amors*:<sup>3</sup> "Li mandamen de *trobar* son far noel dictat per sillabas, compassat am rims, so es amb accordansas. . . . am bels motz plazens, clars, accordans, am certa e bona sentensa, oz am belas e plazens metaphoras. . . ." It is a practical mandate, involving the external aspects of craftsmanship, even considering the remark about the "sentensa," which signifies no more than a sententious saying, that is to say, a conventional embellishment like the metaphor. It must be said that the element of happy discovery is not excluded:

10. "Trobars ve d'aventura o de bona cura: d'aventura, cant es trobat senes sencar. . . . per bona cura can sencan es *trobat*. Encaras far obra noela cum fero li philozophe, cant trobero las sciensas per subtilitat de lor cor, o cum cel que primieramen trobet moli; o coma li cleric can fan o trobo motz dictatz en lati, versifian o estiers compassan. . ." (*Leys d'Amors*, II, p. 29).

The second to be taken up here, *dire*, undoubtedly means 'to recite,' and is not employed with the connotation 'to phrase an idea.' The present writer believes that the accumulation of verbs, *trobar*, *entendre* and *dire*, particularly in examples 3 and 8 is not a redundancy, any more than *dire*, *conter* and *fableoir* of *Aucassin et Nicolette*, in which, as M. Roques has shown, *dire* has definitely to do with the delivery.<sup>4</sup> In case 6, if *dire* meant 'to phrase,' or referred in any way to composition, the words *venc trobair* would seem to be redundant, while, on the other hand, delivery is one of the first requisites of a *joglar*. What is more, I do not find *dire* in Provençal in the sense of compose, whereas 'delivery' is a common acceptance.

It is *entendre*, rather than the other two words, that is difficult to define. We shall now discuss it under the following headings: Etymological meaning, derived meaning of figurative, *non-technical* use, secondary derived meaning, of *technical* importance.

Latin *intendere* signified, primarily, 'to stretch toward, aim toward'; the substantive, *intentio*, signified 'a stretching, aiming toward.' The verb has counterparts in Romance, notably Old French and Provençal. One example may be cited:<sup>5</sup>

11. "qu'en joi d'amor ai et enten  
la boch'els olhs e. l cor e. l sen" (Bernart de Ventadorn. Cf. Appel, *Chrest.* #15, vv. 6-7).

A derived meaning of *intendere*, used with or without *animum*, signified 'to direct one's thought toward, pay attention to, intend.' A few examples are offered here:

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Anglade, II, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. his edition, p. vii, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> The number of Latin citations will be expressly limited in this present treatment of the subject. It is to Professor Ogle and his students at Ohio State University to whom we may look for a more extensive presentation, since I have the assurance of their cooperation.

12. "Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia cum conlega ratus est, ad bellum quod gesturus est *animum intendit*" (Sallust, *B. J.*, I, 43).
13. "Atque in primis meditemur illud. . . Quam saepe *animi intentione* dixi esse firmandam. ." (Cicero, *Disput. Tusc.*, II, c. 27, 65).

Without *animum* we have:

14. "Inde, ut viribus auctoritatem regiam adquiret *ad nuptias* Cleopatrae, sororis Alexandri magni et alterius Alexandri quondam uxoris, non aspernante Olympiade matre eius *intendit*" (Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* X, 1, 45, 5).<sup>6</sup>

French, old or modern, does not lack instances:

15. "Cil oiselet par grant dulçur  
mainent lur joie en sum la flur.  
Ki amur a sun talent,  
n'est merveille s'il i *entent*" (Marie de France, *Austic*, vv. 61 ff.).
16. "Je n'ai qu'engagier ne que vendre  
Que j'ai tant eu à *entendre*  
Et tant à fere" (Rutebeuf, Ed. Elzev., p. 44, v. 15).
17. "Ayant à faire en deux lieux, et ne pouvant *entendre* partout"  
(Malherbe, tr. of Livy, xxiii, 9; cit. *Dict. Gén.*).

From this idea (*i. e.*, 'direct one's thoughts to') to that of 'falling in love,' the distance is not great. Here, too, we have a citation from the Latin, though, it must be confessed, the language is relatively late, *i. e.*, the Vulgate (*Gen.* 34, 3):

18. "Et *intendit animo* (*sic!*) Dinae filiae Jacob."

Such a use is extremely common in Romance, generally; I cite, for the sake of completeness, an example from each of several languages:

19. "Et *entendet* en una borresa d'Orlhac que avia nom ma dona Galiana;  
mas ela non lo volc amar ni retener" (Chabaneau, p. 35).
20. "Grant pechié fait qui son home vuet prendre  
Par beau semblant mostrer, tant que le tient.  
Ainsi me fist ma dame a li *entendre*. . ." (Gace Brûlé, *Chansons*, xxxvi; ed. *Soc. des Anc. Textes*).
21. "Amor me trage pagado  
des que me fizó *entender*  
d'ela que servo de grado" (*Cancioneiro gallego-cast.*, v. 1469, ed. Lang).

Similarly there is the *entendedor* of Old Spanish,<sup>7</sup> the *entendio* of sixteenth century Italian<sup>8</sup> and the old term *intendersi*, 'to be in love,' revived and much admired by Carducci.<sup>9</sup> In Provençal, *entendre* and its derivatives were specialized to suit the needs of the conventional jargon of courtly love, *e. g.*

22. "Qe d'entendenz' es pretz mogutz,

<sup>6</sup> These Lat. citations, except the one from the Vulgate, to follow, are from a Master's thesis, done under the direction of Professor Ogle, at Ohio State University, by Miss Carrie May Rife, 1929.

<sup>7</sup> *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. Marden, v. 629c.

<sup>8</sup> V. du Bled, *Société fr̄anc̄e*, I, p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Zanichelli, X, p. 256.

Q'ieu vic qe. I dalfins fon plus pros  
*Entendeir*, enanz qe drutz fos" (Kolsen, *Trobadorgedichte*, #2, v. 39).

*Entendeir* is the suitor; *drutz*, the accepted lover.

At this point, we may ask: Are the meanings of *entendre* thus far discussed applicable to examples 1-9? To the troubadour, love and literary composition formed the major constituents of his life, necessary and complementary to each other. It is natural, therefore, to find the two ideas very frequently juxtaposed, e. g.

23. "cansos fetz de fort bonas e de bons sons e de bonas coblas; e anc no fo gaires enamoratz" (Chabaneau, p. 51).
24. "leer as estorias, con aves caçar  
 todas boas mannas seguir e usar,  
 salvo o *trobar*, que ja non farei,  
 amor per amores, que nunca *amarei*" (*Cancioneiro gallego-cast.*, vv. 1634 ff.).

Citations could be multiplied. Since some examples are found wherein, as in example 24, *trobar* actually occurs with a synonym of *entendre*, may not many a poet have understood *trobar e entendre* as an expression aptly gathering into a compact whole literary composition and love? Reasonable as it may seem to suppose this to be true, we cannot exclude a more recondite conception of *entendre* more proper to the domain of philosophy. *Intentio* was, in fact, used technically by Latin commentators on earlier works (e. g. Boethius, Donatus).

Boethius gives six methods of approach to the study of a work. They are: *intentio, utilitas, ordo, si germanus liber est, inscriptio, ad quam philosophiae*.<sup>10</sup> The first corresponds to Greek *skópos*, 'aim.' A few citations follow:

25. "Quare erit libri huius *intentio* de significativis vocibus in tantum, quantum conceptiones animi intellectusque significant" (*De inst. mus.* I, p. 7).
26. "Hoc enim perspicuo et manifesto omnia libri patefiet *intentio*" (*Ibid.* IV, 301, 11).

Romance has also many instances of such use; e. g.,

27. "D'une haute leçon  
 Vos ferai le sermon. . . .  
 Grant sen i puet apprendre  
 Qui bien i vuelt *entendre*.  
 De ceste nostre sermon  
 Oez l'*entencion*,  
 Sachiez que de folie

N'est faite ne d'envie. . ." (*L'estoire Joseph*, ed. Sass, vv. 3-4, 11-16).

Note that I have also underscored the verb. It is obvious that the poet, after the approved mediaeval manner, is playing with words. The effect, however, in this case, is to add to the meaning 'direct one's mind towards' (cf. examples 12-17 incl.) another one more profound, more recondite, of which more will be said later.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Prantl, *Geschichte d. Logik*, I, p. 68.

28. "qe granz faillirs es d'ome qe si fai emendor si tot ades non a l'*entencion*, qe maintas vetz, per frachura *d'entendemen*<sup>11</sup> venon afollat maint bon mot obrat primamen e d'avinen razo" (Autobiogr. of Bernart Amoros. Cf. *Jabrb*, f. rom. u. eng. *Lit.*, XI, p. 12).
29. "De la Virge loer est ci m'entente" (*Romans dou lis*, ed. Ostrander, p. 23).
30. "M'entencion hay tota en un vers mesa" (MS *Vat.* 3206, f. 187: Peirol, 1180-1220).

Remembering that *vers* means 'poem,' the sense of the line is this: I have developed my idea, my underlying aim, in one poem.

31. "Cist livres est apelés *Tresors*; car si li sires qui vuet en petit leu amasser chose de grandisme vaillance, non pas por son delit seulement, mais por acroistre son poor et por essaucier son estat en guerre et en pais, i met les plus chieres choses et les plus precieus joiaus que il puet, selon sa bone *entencion*, tout autressi est li cors de cest livre compilez de sapience" (Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou Tresor*, Introd., ed. Chabaille, Paris, 1863).

"Intention" is inadequate, as are, in fact, any meanings of *intentio* used in examples as far as 25. Something like "plan, organization" would be better. For such an idea we must look further.

In scholastic philosophy, *intentio* means 'the directing of consciousness to an object', and also, be it noted 'the sensual or conceptual picture of that object':<sup>12</sup>

32. "Intellectus, per speciem rei formatus, intelligendo format in se ipso quandam *intentionem rei intellectae*" (*Summa contra gentiles*, I, 53). It is the same idea as that expressed by Thomas Aquinas in the *Primum* to the *De caelo et mundo*. I cannot but feel that more *purpose* is attached to *intentio* in the following selection than is true in example 32. Thomas Aquinas sets forth, in example 33, four processes involved in producing a work of art. They are here italicized:

33. "primo secundum ordinem *apprehensionis*, prout artifex primo apprehendit formam domus absolute, et postea inducit eam in materiam; secundo secundum ordinem *intentionis*, secundum quod artifex *intendit* totam domum perficere, et propter hoc facit quidquid operatur circa partes domus; tertio secundum ordinem *compositionis*, prout scilicet prius dolat lapides, et postea compingit eos in parietem; quarto secundum ordinem *sustentationis* artificii, prout artifex primo iacit fundamentum, super quod ceterae partes domus sustentantur" (*Opera omnia*, III, Romae, 1886).

The meaning of the passage is in no manner transparent. We have here both the noun and the verb, both *intentio* and *intendere*, which may perhaps be translated thus: "secondly, according to the division *intentio*, in accordance with which the artist sets out to complete the whole house and, therefore, does whatever is necessary for the several parts of the house." It is notable that, in the following passage, we have the verb alone. It would seem, in fact, that

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the various formations of the substantive, cf. Adams, *Word Formation in Provençal*.

<sup>12</sup> R. Eisler, *Wörterb. d. philos. Begriffe*, cit. Rife.

it might fill, in Marie de France, the same place that its Latin counterpart fills in the four-fold scholastic scheme, the more so since, with Marie, three stages of artistic creation are clearly indicated and a fourth implied, thus producing what appears to be a parallel; *e. g.*

34. "Custume fu as anciens,  
ceo testimoine Preciens,  
es livres que jadis faiseient  
assez oscurement disieint  
pur cels qui a venir esteient  
e qui aprendre les deveient,  
que peussent gloser la letre  
e de lur sen le surplus metre.  
Li philesophe le saveient,  
par els meisne l'entendeient,  
cum plus trespassereit li tens,  
plus serreient sutil de sens  
et plus se savreient garder  
de ceo qu'i ert, a trespasser.  
Ki de vice se vuelt defendre,  
*estudier deit e entendre*  
e grevose oeuvre comencier" (Prologue to the *Lais*, vv. 9-25).

*Estudier* could be thought of as the preparatory work, the purview of forms and materials *absolute*; *entendre* as the purposeful planning, indicated by Thomas Aquinas; *grevose oeuvre comencier* is clear. It will be noted, however, that not *escrire* or *faire* is used but *comencier*, a verb much more expressive of laying foundations, as suggested by *sustentatio*.

There are instances of *entendre* in this meaning of conceptual picture (one may almost say conceptual "layout"), accompanied by the verb *rimer* or *cobleiar*, that is a verb equivalent to *trobar*. The situation recalls that of examples 1-9, *e. g.*

35. "Je m'esmay forment de l'emprise  
Comment l'aie a chief mise;  
Mais ce me fait reconforter  
Que me daignierent commander  
Que je ceste estoire *entendisse*  
Et a *rimer* l'entrepreisse (*Cléomadès*, vv. 17 ff., ed. Van Hasselt, Bruxelles, 1865).  
36. "Pero, car vos fegnetz de sotilment *entendre*  
Vos prec qe. m respondetz, en Lanfranc,  
Quals es la piegiers res,—e s'i met grant e mendre,  
Que sia en est mond, q'en tochar puesc'o prendre,  
E si aizo, m dires, del *cobleiar* defendre  
Vos poires ab chascun q. ab vos voilla contendre" (Bertoni, *Trovatori d'Italia*, p. 390).

In Ex. 35, the last two verses might be translated thus: "that I should lay out the thing in my mind, [conceive it intellectually (?) or imaginatively (?)] and undertake to rhyme it." In example 36, the editor translates the first line: "Giacchè vi sforzate di essere uomo di sottile intelletto," which would be alto-

gether fitting and adequate, if we stopped at the first verse. It is to be noted, however, that, after stating a problem, the poet says: "And if you will tell me that, you will be able to defend yourself, in the matter of writing poetry, with reference to anybody who will contend with you." Why, should Lanfranc's ability to answer the question have anything to do with his writings or the defense thereof? Apparently, the question was of some concern to the editor, who translates *cobleiar* as "scambiar cobbole," a rendition which I do not find in Raynouard or Levy. May we not keep the usual meaning 'to write verse' (more specially *coblas*), rendering the passage: "You who claim to conceive so subtly, answer me, Messire Lanfranc, what is the worst thing. . . and if you can, you will be able to stand up, as a poet, against anyone who will contend with you?"

The next example I adduce with considerable diffidence and merely as a possibility:

37. "Lo vers es fis e naturaus  
 e bos celui qui be l'enten;  
 e melher es, qui l joi aten.  
 Bernartz de Ventadorn l'enten  
 e. I di e. I fai, e. I joi n'aten" (B. de Ventadorn, ed. Appel, #15, vv. 50 ff.).

The editor was puzzled at the order of the three verbs. One would expect the exact reverse. Knowing the troubadour habits, we might see how a poem could be delivered before its redaction in some *chansonnier*. *Dire* could thus come before *faire*, assuming *faire* to mean merely writing down, which is a bit dubious. However, if we took *entendre* as 'to understand,' we should have something understood before its composition. That may be possible if we mean by 'understand' to 'conceive,'—to 'comprehend' as it were, *purposefully*, from the artistic standpoint, with the idea of artistic structure in mind. With this addition to the meaning of *entendre*, the order of the verbs is logical as it stands and the *tornada* may be translated thus: "Bernart de Ventadorn conceives (designs?) it, delivers it, writes it down (in final form) and expects joy therefrom."<sup>18</sup> I wish to direct special attention to the fact that the instances of what may be called the scholastic sense (examples 34-37 incl.) are verbs rather than nouns, as is prevailingly true in the preceding group (examples 27-31 incl.). It is, therefore, interesting to note that in the following case, — — though the category to which it may belong is not clear, there should be a noun:

38. "Al cor ay que comens,  
 pus lo dous temps comensa,  
 chanso qu'als entendens  
 er de prima entendensa.  
 E si a totas gens  
 mon chantar non agensa,  
 sivals entr'els valens  
 aura mos chans valensa,

<sup>18</sup> That delivery preceded writing in the minds of some mediaeval rhetoricians would appear to be true from the following: "Rethorica es sciensa de bel et adreytamen *parlar, dictar* et *ordenar*." *Dictar* means 'to deliver,' but also 'to compose' and coupled with *ordenar*, must mean the latter.

qu'ieu vuelh als sapiens  
mostrar ma sapiensa."

The first four verses may be translated: "I have it in mind to begin, since the gentle season is commencing, a song which, to the understanding mind, will be of high conception." That is, its general organization, its artistic structure, will be such as to be appreciated only by the *valens* and those who appreciate the *sapiensa* involved in such a high conception. It seems a rather nice distinction to make between this meaning of *entendensa* and that of 'purpose, aim,' which may also be admissible (Cf. examples 27-31). Be it *purpose* or *conception*, it always builds around courtly love; e. g.,

"Tot quan fas ni comens  
per lieys de ben comensa,  
e als fis entendens,  
de fina entendensa.  
So aus diu a las gens  
a cuy amors agensa."<sup>14</sup>

A similar difficulty in the interpretation of the English word *intent* arises in Contract Law, but the present writer confesses to an utter lack of competence in discussing the issue involved.

Let us now, before attempting a conclusion, tabulate the results we have for Latin and the Romance languages:

- I. For the etymological meaning of *intendere*:
  - A. Latin cases: None previously cited in this study. They are common, however; cf. *intendere sagittam* (*Aeneid*, IX, 590).
  - B. Romance cases: Cf. 11.
- II. For the derived meaning, 'direct one's thoughts toward':
  - A. Latin cases: 12-14.
  - B. Romance cases: 15-17.
- III. Second derived meaning: 'fall in love with':
  - A. Latin case: 18.
  - B. Romance cases: 19-22.
- IV. In a technical, philosophical sense, *intentio* = 'aim, purpose':
  - A. Latin cases: 25-26.
  - B. Romance cases: 27-31.
- V. As a term of scholastic philosophy, used in a sense that appears to be an extension of IV, *intentio* = 'direction of consciousness to an object', 'the conceptual picture of an object'; *intendere* = 'to direct one's consciousness to an object', 'to organize a conceptual picture of an object':
  - A. Lat. cases: 32 (noun); 33 (noun and verb).
  - B. Romance cases: 35-37.

An obscure case, one which appears to partake of both IV and V, is a noun; cf. 38.

Many aspects of this problem remain to be studied before we can give a thoroughly satisfactory translation (if it is possible) of cases 1-9. The com-

<sup>14</sup> I have not given separate numbers to the portions of ex. 38, since they are from the unpublished poems,—in fact, in this case from the same poem,—of Elias Fonsalada. For this purpose, I have used MS B. N. Français 856, (known as C), f. 345.

mentators' use of *intentio*, *intendere* must be studied in view of a possible relation to the Greek use in commentaries, on *skópos*. From the evidence we have, the situation may be summed up as follows:

a) *Intendere* may perhaps be rendered, in most of the cases, 'to purpose' or 'to conceive intellectually'. Such a translation appears to make sense and to find support in Latin and apparently, too, in Romance.

b) A closer translation is difficult: 1) The troubadours were not philologists and the meanings of *entendre* necessarily shade into each other at times.<sup>15</sup> 2) The schooling of the troubadours and even of the theorists of rhetoric was an exceedingly variable quantity.<sup>16</sup> Thus, while some might grasp the scholastic import of a term like *entendre*, others might not do so and to the less inspired the phrase *trobar e entendre* may well have been a tag.

c) Whatever exact translation we might attempt, it should render the fact that *entendre* supplements *trobar* in that it adds to the latter, the "external" verb, something of a somewhat higher, conceptual order. The ideal of the mediaeval troubadour was to have his "canso" completed by a "razo", an idea, e. g.,

"Ja mais bons vers non er auzitz,  
Ni cansos per razon complida" (Daude de Pradas, *Ben deu esser*;  
Bartsch, *Grundriss*, 124, 4, vv. 9-10).

With these reservations, let us undertake to translate cases 1-9:

1. "This damsel was passing courteous and wise and knew how to compose and organize a poem conceptually."
2. (*Id. sens.*).
3. "and he knew better how to versify than to conceive the idea of a poem or to deliver it," etc.
6. "and he became a *joglar* and was very clever in delivery and conceiving of a poem and became a *trobaire*." 7, 8, 9 (*Id. sens.*).

As to cases 4 and 5, the present writer confesses to considerable uncertainty, chiefly because the verbs are reflexive. True, this need not militate against our

<sup>15</sup> A similar situation prevails with Germ. *meinen*, defined thus by Grimm: "1) seinen Sinn auf etwas richten; 2) bezeichnen; 3) geistig auffassen; 4) zu setzen und satzzeilen stellen, deren bedeutung man deutlicher oder anschaulicher machen will." There is a correspondence with meanings II, IV, V of *entendre*. As for III, there is *minnen* und *meinen*:

"Als ez got in hât gegeben  
den si *meinen* unde *minnen*" (Lamprecht v. Regensburg, *cit.* Grimm),

wherein *meinen* is reinforced by the alliterative *minnen* and appears to mean the same thing as *entendre* in sense III. However, an absolute definition is not easy. It is significant that meanings 1, 2, 3, of Grimm occur (under the guise of *entendre*) in combination with *trobar*. Does meaning 4 also occur in such combination? Meaning 4 does seem to correspond to that of *ordenar*, which is in fact found in combination with *trobar*, e. g., "A questa (i. e. *Rhetorica*) es aquela nobla sciensa per laqual hom sab *trobar* dictar e *ordenar*. ." (Leys d'Amors, Bk. I, p. 82). Also: "La tierce science est rhetorique, cele noble science qui nos enseigne a *trover* et *ordenar* ." (Brunetto Latini, *op. cit.*, p. 9). Now if *meinen* corresponds to three important meanings of *entendre* that occur in conjunction with *trobar* and if it possesses a fourth meaning that is also found in such conjunction, does it not tend to strengthen the parallel in such a manner as to associate in some way *ordenar* with *entendre*? In other words may not *trobar e ordenar* be a more prosaic conception of *trobar e entendre*, wherein the organization around an idea may have given way to organization of a more external, concrete nature?

<sup>16</sup> For the relation of school and troubadour, cf. *Romanische Studien*, II, 339; also Schrotter, *Ovid u. die Troubadours*.

translating them as the others, but the possibility of meaning III entering there is greater, since more reflexive parallels for that meaning exist in Romance, so it appears.

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*Pd/*  
SOME LITTLE KNOWN PLAYS OF GOROSTIZA

ALTHOUGH the greater part of the dramatic work of Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza was published under the title of *Obras* in volumes 22, 24, 26, and 45 of the *Biblioteca de Autores mexicanos* (México, 1899-1902), there are others, either rare or entirely unknown, that are not listed in this collection. Of three of these—*Las cuatro guirnaldas*, *El novio austro-ruso*,<sup>1</sup> and an adaptation of *Emilia Galotti*<sup>2</sup>—no copy is now known to exist; of one, the authorship may still be open to question;<sup>3</sup> but among those of which the writer has seen copies are the following:

*Tal para cual, o las mugeres y los hombres.* Comedia original en verso y en un acto: Por Don Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza. Madrid, 1820. Imprenta de Repullés, plazuela del Angel.<sup>4</sup> [In University of Texas Library].

*Virtud y patriotismo, o el 19 de Enero de 1820.* Comedia en un acto, por Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza. Madrid, Imprenta de la Viuda de Aznar, 1821.<sup>5</sup> [In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid].

*Una noche de alarma en Madrid.* Comedia en un acto. Por M. E. de Gorostiza. Madrid: Imprenta de Don Antonio Fernández, 1821.<sup>6</sup> [In Ticknor Collection, Boston Public Library].

<sup>1</sup> L. Moratin, [Catálogo de las piezas dramáticas publicadas en España desde el principio del siglo XVIII hasta la época presente (1825) in B. A. E., II, 334] lists *Las cuatro guirnaldas* as the work of Gorostiza, and the editor of the volume adds *El novio austro-ruso*.

<sup>2</sup> "Existe manuscrita en poder de Don Eduardo de Gorostiza la pieza en cinco actos en prosa, intitulada *Emilia Galotti*, respecto de cuya originalidad hubo fuertes disputas en la época de su representación en el Teatro Principal de México. Don Manuel la envió a Madrid a su hijo Don Eduardo para que la hiciera representar también en aquella corte, lo cual no tuvo efecto. Es, indudablemente, simple refundición del drama alemán de Lessing, que llevó igual título, y cuyo desenlace, eminentemente trágico, es más moral aunque de mucho menor efecto en la pieza de Gorostiza"—José María Roa Bárcena, *Datos y apuntamientos para la biografía de D. Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza*, México, 1876, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, (*Isidoro Maiquez y el teatro de su tiempo*, Madrid, 1902, p. 103) says: *La casa en venta* . . . fué trasladada tres o cuatro veces . . . Hasta Gorostiza la hizo comedia." In a note he adds: "La traducción de Gorostiza parece ser la que manuscrita hay en la Biblioteca municipal (72-3) que tiene esta nota: 'El primer apunte se le dió al Sr. Gorostiza para poner la ópera de sólo representado y se perdió por haberse marchado de España en la época en que era galán Bernardo Aviceilla.'"

<sup>4</sup> Known to Menéndez y Pelayo; see *Historia de la poesía hispano-americana*, Madrid, 1911, I, p. 114. Reprinted in Gorostiza's *Teatro original*, Paris, 1822. Mentioned by A. L. Owen in the "Introduction" to his edition of *Contigo pan y cebolla*, New York, 1923, but not seen by him.

<sup>5</sup> *El Universal Observador español* announced [No. 2, January 2, 1821] that the play was to be given at the Príncipe Theater; and later [No. 13, January 13, 1821] advertised the printed play for sale. Hartzenbusch adds this play to those listed by Moratin as Gorostiza's [B. A. E., II, 334, note 35]; but it has not been mentioned by later writers on Gorostiza.

<sup>6</sup> Also added by Hartzenbusch [*op. cit.*, p. 334, note 34] and mentioned by Menéndez y Pelayo [*op. cit.*, I, p. 115]. Also mentioned by Owen as unseen.

*El cocinero y el secretario.* Comedia en un acto. Imitada del francés por D. M. E. Gorostiza. Madrid: La imprenta de Yenes, Calle de Segovia, núm. 6, 1840.<sup>7</sup> [In University of Texas Library].

*El amante jorobado.* Comedia en un acto imitada del francés por Gorostiza. Septiembre de 1822.<sup>8</sup> [Ms. in the Biblioteca Municipal, Madrid]. Unpublished.

A brief summary of each of these will give some idea of their general character.

In *Tal para cual, o las mujeres y los hombres* three women—a coquette, her rich old aunt, and a young lady to whom rich old man has proposed—have all fallen in love with the same man, a young army officer. These three meet at the coquette's house, and the unsuspecting officer walks into the group, much to his embarrassment. After a poet reads to them a *loa* based on the judgment of Paris, the unfortunate officer finds himself called on to enact the part of Paris by awarding the apple to the lady of his choice; he gives it to the rich old lady. Arrangements are made at once for their wedding on the following day, much to the disgust of the coquette and the other young woman. The one turns to future conquests for consolation; the other decides to accept the proffered suitor.

*Virtud y patriotismo*, dedicated to Riego, deals with certain events connected with the victory of the Spanish liberals on January 1, 1820. Don Justo, a liberal, and his daughter Felipa, who have been living in retirement since 1814, are about to become the victims of absolutism, when Liborio, a young officer with whom Felipa has long been in love, appears at the head of constitutionalist troops, puts the too zealous officials to flight, and raises the triumphant cry of "Viva Riego," in which Don Justo, his daughter, and his assembled tenants join.

Similar in theme and in purpose is *Una noche de alarma en Madrid*. Don Joaquín, his son Juan, and the latter's wife Rosa, are enthusiastic constitutionalists, but Rosa's father favors absolutism. When an affray with the reactionaries threatens, Joaquín joins the ranks, while his father and Rosa mix with the liberal groups in the streets. In this interval Rosa's father is visited by a certain Don Prisco, rank foe of the liberals, who reveals a plan to restore the king to power that very night. But the shouts they soon hear prove to be those of the victorious constitutionalists, and shortly Rosa and Don Joaquín, hoarse with singing the hymn of Riego, and Juan, accompanied by other soldiers, return. These are about to give Don Prisco a good drubbing for his reactionary proclivities, but Juan induces them to let him off with listening to the "Trágala" song. Rosa's father has a hasty change of heart, and all finally join in singing the liberal triumph.

In *El cocinero y el secretario* the daughter of a newly appointed ambassador is in love with Alfonso, son of the man to whom her father owes his position.

<sup>7</sup> Also added by Hartzenbusch to Moratin's list. A review of the play is given in *El Censor, periódico político y literario*, Madrid, 1821, tomo X, núm. 57, 230. Mentioned, too, by Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> At the end of the manuscript are four letters dated February 4, 12, 17, and 19, 1827, in which the censors list the passages deleted, approve the play, and grant the privilege of presentation in the theaters of Madrid. Menéndez y Pelayo had not seen this manuscript, but mentions that Moratin had listed the title among Gorostiza's plays.

To advance his suit, Alfonso hits on the idea of obtaining the position as secretary to the ambassador. On the day he applies, a cook is also needed; and when Ropavieja appears highly decorated with medals, the steward engages him as the secretary and Alfonso as the cook. They solve their difficulties temporarily by secretly exchanging posts. Over the luncheon table the love affair is revealed, and the two fathers agree to the marriage. But when the secretary is called and Ropavieja appears, the ambassador is enraged and vows his daughter shall never marry such an ignoramus. Explanations follow: Ropavieja remains as the cook, while Alfonso becomes the secretary and Luisa's husband.

In the play still unpublished, *El amante jorobado*, a young army officer attempts to win favor with the uncle of the girl he loves by pretending to be the hunch-backed suitor who has been chosen for her. After many complications, the discovery is made that the hunch-back is already married. The officer then abandons his disguise and, through his good birth and good income, becomes acceptable as the future husband.

Of these five plays only one—*Tal para cual*—is in verse. It is a farcical trifle which recalls in many respects the *sainete* of the Ramón de la Cruz type. Although the unities are observed, Gorostiza is concerned, not with the moral of the neo-classic comedy, but with the portrayal of Madrid bourgeois society. It belongs to the period of the author's best dramatic productions—*Indulgencia para todos*, *Las costumbres de antaño*, and *Don Dieguito*—with which it was published in the *Teatro original* (Paris, 1822). As the Mexican editor of his plays was acquainted with this collection, the failure to include *Tal para cual* seems clearly an oversight.

It is also not generally known that of one of the plays in this group—*Las costumbres de antaño*—there are two versions—the original, first published in 1819,<sup>9</sup> and a slight re-working of it for the Mexican stage in 1833.<sup>10</sup> It is the latter version that is included in the *Biblioteca de Autores mexicanos*. The two differ only, as Roa Bárcena points out,<sup>11</sup> in the suppression in the later edition, of certain adulatory phrases in regard to the Spanish throne and Ferdinand VII, in honor of whose wedding the play was written. Also suggestive of the period of their composition are *Virtud y patriotismo* and *Una noche de alarma en Madrid*, which were written during the constitutional period from 1820 to 1823, when the liberals under Riego had the upper hand. While these plays are inferior to Gorostiza's other original dramatic productions, they show their author as a most active and enthusiastic partisan of the liberal party. With its defeat in 1823, Gorostiza was forced to flee from Spain.

The two translations, or rather adaptations—*El cocinero y el secretario* and *El amante jorobado*—are similar in nature to such one-act plays as *Paulina*, *Estela*, and *Un enlace aristocrático*, each of which is based on a *comédie-vueudeville* by Scribe, and which are to be found in the fourth volume of the

<sup>9</sup> *Las Costumbres de antaño*. Comedia original. Por Don Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza. Madrid, 1819. Imprenta de Repullés, plazuela del Angel. [In University of Texas Library].

<sup>10</sup> *Las Costumbres de antaño*, ó *La pesadilla*. Comedia original en verso por M. E. de Gorostiza, y refundida por su autor para el Teatro Principal de México. México, Imprenta a cargo de Miguel González, Esquina de Don Juan Manuel y bajos de S. Agustín, 1833. [In University of Texas Library].

<sup>11</sup> *Datos y Apunamientos*, 114.

Mexican edition of his works. Both *El cocinero* and *El amante* are also adaptations of *comédies-vauDEVILLES*, the former being based on *Le secrétaire et le cuisinier* by Scribe and Melésville, which was given for the first time at the Théâtre du Gymnase on January 10, 1821; and the latter is an adaptation of *L'Amant bossu*, by Scribe, Melésville, and Vaudière, which was first presented at the same theater on October 22, 1821. It is possible that the manuscript copy of *El amante jorobado* is in Gorostiza's hand, inasmuch as it bears the censor's license for the production on the stage. It is very probable that it was produced, for on the manuscript have been added, in a different hand, the names of the actors who were to take the different parts, as well as additional stage directions. In making these adaptations Gorostiza either hispanizes the names of the characters or changes them directly to Spanish names; although he translates sometimes directly, many passages are translated freely, the thought being given in idiomatic Spanish; while the songs in the *comédies-vauDEVILLES* are entirely omitted. In making these adaptations for the theater Gorostiza was simply engaging in a practice general in that day, as is evidenced by similar work from the pens of Larra, of Bretón, and of many others who translated French plays for the Spanish stage.

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### THE DATE OF LOPE DE VEGA'S DE COSARIO A COSARIO

THIS play is assigned by Professor Buchanan to the period between 1618 and 1621,<sup>1</sup> and by Cotarelo to that between 1618 and its publication in the Parte XIX of Lope's comedias in 1623.<sup>2</sup> In both cases the date 1618 is fixed upon as the earliest possible, through the failure of the play to figure in either the original or the supplementary list of plays claimed by Lope appearing in the editions of *El peregrino en su patria* of 1603 and 1618; Professor Buchanan's second date is presumably arrived at on the basis of versification. Castro's redaction of Rennert's bibliography<sup>3</sup> assigns no dates.

It is hardly to be entertained as a possibility that the play antedates 1618; the versification, technique, and nature of the play, and above all the highly developed character of the *figura del donaire*, all furnish evidence to support the date arrived at through its failure to appear in the *Peregrino* lists.

The exposition of the first act contains a passage which furnishes evidence that may serve to place the date more exactly. It consists of 158 verses of romance,<sup>4</sup> in which the hero, don Juan, relates his adventures during the years immediately preceding the action of the play. He is an *indiano*, just returned from Colombia, to which country he went to seek his fortune upon the death of the queen, in whose service he was:

<sup>1</sup> Milton A. Buchanan, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays*, Toronto, 1922, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, XI, Madrid, 1929, p. xxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Hugo A. Rennert and Américo Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, Madrid, 1929, p. 437.

<sup>4</sup> J. E. Hartzenbusch, *Comedias escogidas de Fray Lope Félix de Vega Carpio*, III (B. A. E. XLI), p. 485b; Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, p. 636a.

"fué la causa haber perdido  
su serenísima reina  
España, a quien yo serví;  
que quiso el cielo, con ella  
aumentar número al coro  
de los ángeles, pues era  
de los que adornan el cielo  
vivo retrato en la tierra."

Arriving at Bogotá, after one year's residence he married a rich *criolla*, who died four years later:

"... estuve un año apenas  
en Santa Fe de Bogotá  
cuando una hermosa doncella  
puso los ojos en mi...  
Mil y cuatrocientas veces  
y poco más de sesenta  
pasó el sol la mar de España  
para venir a la nuestra  
mientras los dos nos gozamos;  
quiero decir que con ella  
cuatro años casado estuve."

After his wife's death he converted the property inherited from her into silver and, with little ceremony, returned to Spain:

"Pártome a España gozoso,  
Fernando, trayendo a ella  
un casamiento de plata,  
mucho peso y poca pena."

It is to be noted that the chronology is exact and explicit, and is even repeated with insistence in the last two verses of the second quotation, although the precise length of time that don Juan resided abroad has absolutely no bearing upon the action of the play (except perhaps to emphasize rather unnecessarily that he is still of marriageable age).

The only queen to whom the reference can be reasonably supposed to apply is Margarita de Austria, wife of Felipe III, who died in 1611. The allusion to her death is couched in the terms of politic regret which might be expected in a poet who is gratuitously dragging in a reference to a royal death which is reasonably recent and still somewhat alive in the public mind.

Don Juan, then, at the moment of the beginning of the action, is represented to have lived over five years in Colombia and to have crossed the Atlantic twice since the death of his patroness, the queen. This brings him back to Madrid between six and seven years after that event. It may be inferred, then, that since there is no imaginable reason why Lope should falsify the length of time which had passed since the death of Margarita de Austria and the pro-

duction of the play, that it was written six or seven years after that occurrence, *i. e.*, in 1617 or 1618.<sup>5</sup>

But the former date is highly unlikely, for if the drama had been in existence at the close of 1617 it would almost certainly have been sufficiently fresh in the author's mind for him to have accorded it mention in the second *Peregrino* list; it must therefore have been written in 1618, and *after* the manuscript of the sixth edition of the *Peregrino* had been given to the printer.

PHILADELPHIA

W. A. WHATLEY

<sup>5</sup> If it had been written later, it is reasonable to believe that Lope would have added a year, or two, or three, as necessary, to the period of don Juan's residence in Bogotá; though not a court poet, Lope was a poet of the *corte*, and he is hardly likely gratuitously to have been guilty of the lapse in taste of making the queen's death out to be more or less recent than it actually was.

## REVIEWS

Anna Heyberger, *Jean Amos Comenius (Komensky). Sa Vie et son Œuvre d'Éducateur*, Paris, H. Champion, 1928, IX + 280 pp.

Comenius was a man embattled. His works,—from which shines forth the profound goodness of his mind, that *caritas* that is more than brotherlove,—were composed in anguish, during the Thirty Years' War and while he was an exile, a wanderer all over Europe. Bohemia was covered with smoking villages as with so many stakes on which the Protestant dissidents were burned. "Wir wollen lieber ein verwüstetes, als ein verdampfes Königreich haben," declared the Emperor Ferdinand II. In constant search of help for his oppressed brethren, driven from their country for the sake of their belief, Comenius was the good shepherd who shouldered the sufferings of the whole flock. In vain did he try for decades to lead them back through an alliance with the mighty of this earth; they never saw their fatherland again. For a while peace seemed to come to them in Leszno, Poland, where the Bohemian Brethren established their church. Comenius soon became celebrated because of his original pedagogical works; he was called to Sweden, to England, to France, to Holland,—and he was even offered the presidency of Harvard College. But he declined a number of these advantageous proposals, and was content to remain in an inferior position, because he held constantly before his eyes his life-task as the leader of his brethren, which stood higher than mere personal gain. He was God's humble instrument for their salvation and reestablishment in their rightful homes. On April 26, 1656, the Catholic Polish party burned down Leszno, that "nest of heretics," and destroyed not only the library, the archives and the printing press of the Brethren,—but also Comenius' house. His books and unpublished manuscripts were burned, and among them were some that had meant forty-four years of labor, as for instance, his *Thesaurus* of the Bohemian language. . . . His flock again dispersed, Comenius wandered everywhere to find help in its dire need, but was finally obliged to take refuge in Holland. There, though he was revered by many, the eternal calumniators did not spare even this great and good man, who had sacrificed his life to his Brethren. Arnoldus wrote a *Discursus theologus contra Comenium*; and it is strange that such a fair-minded critic as Bayle allowed himself to be influenced by the petty insinuations of his enemies: "On le représente comme un escroc et un véritable Chevalier de l'industrie, qui se servoit admirablement de la qualité de fugitif pour la Religion, et des idées pompeuses de sa méthode d'enseigner; qui se servoit, dis-je, admirablement de ces ressorts à vider la bourse des bonnes âmes" (*Dictionnaire*). It is true that the colony of the refugees in Holland was particularly slanderous and venomously jealous at that period, and that such accusations were almost the obligatory toll exacted for the crime of having talent and convictions (as Bayle

himself had experienced in his quarrel with Jurieu),—yet was this the reward for Comenius' life of sacrifice? Notwithstanding the wide renown he had acquired as an educator and as the exponent of his *Pansophia*, not one of the noble dreams or not even one of his most legitimate desires, was fulfilled during his lifetime,—neither the return of the Brethren to their native land, nor the establishment of a reign of religious tolerance and international peace.

But out of all his suffering there rose a dream,—a dream of conciliation, justice, intellectual toleration and human brotherhood. In the midst of persecution, violence, slander and corruption, he reached out, with an all-embracing love, to search for that "universal light" that would illuminate human reason and bring regeneration to a war-maddened world. He appealed to human conscience and sought to release its inner spring so that the true Man should be revealed from within the persecutor, the intolerant patriot and the intolerant fanatic. His *Panegesia*, his *World's Awakening*, was dedicated to humanity and its *Praefatio ad Europeos* called upon the rulers, scholars, theologians and political leaders to bring an end to the reign of rapine, to decades of massacre and centuries of persecution; and to create a new and superior order of state which would herald a general re-education, peace, welfare and culture.

He proclaimed the self-determination of the nations ("Nothing that interests a people can be decided on in its absence"); rejected secret diplomacy and, after Vives and Bacon, he proposed a universal language which would facilitate international relations. One of his dreams was the organization of a "universal didactic college," a center where all scientific discoveries would be examined and which would undertake to spread their benefits all over the world. He never tired of stressing the necessity of intellectual unity and cooperation among all the intellectuals of the civilized world. And he, who had suffered so deeply from religious persecution, proposed a universal federation which would unite all religious institutions and should be based upon the fundamental principles of the various churches. He advocated social reforms based on goodwill by convocation of the several peoples to free consultations, where, through common deliberation, international political problems would be settled. But above all, he believed that the education of the new generations in openness of mind and toleration would lay the basis for future universal peace. His pedagogical system itself became part of his world-dream. In his *Angelus Pacis* he carried his appeal for the spiritual communion, which would embrace all the forms of the activity of the human mind, to all those who were mighty either through the spirit or the sword: "Come then, all you who take to heart the salvation of yourselves and of your neighbors, no matter what your nation, your language, your religion, may be; all you who fear God, all you who hate human disorder, all you who are avid of progress; come, and do not deprive of your advice a universal council which debates about universal welfare! Have pity on the misery of our age, and contribute in common all that each one of us can bring as aid or counsel. Come! I entreat you, and if some among you possess Truth in its purity, Piety without superstition, Order without confusion, let them show it, and give it over to the public good! If you possess the true light of Science, unveil it, so that this light may shine upon every one. If you possess the true God and the true laws of His cult, reveal it to us, so

that this sacred clarity may shine for others. If you know a free and peaceful road which leads to a noble end in the affairs of the state, of the communities, of the family, of the individual,—indicate it, so that we may cease at last to throw ourselves upon one another, and to run to our common ruin. . . . And, above all, awaken, you who hold in your hands the affairs of this world! You, the savants, who are the educators of humanity; you theologians, guides of the soul; you powerful statesmen, mediators of the world, depositaries and conservers of peace among men, let us make a pact now, here on the threshold of this work which we have religiously built, as if we stood in the presence of God. Let us agree, above all, to have, all of us, only one aim:—the salvation of humanity, and for its salvation, let us urge true, pure and durable peace."

\* \* \*

Comenius inaugurated and still dominates the entire modern movement in the domain of primary and secondary education. His influence on the teaching of our times is comparable to that exercised by Copernicus and Newton on modern science, and by Bacon and Descartes on modern philosophy,—thus did President N. M. Butler summarize Comenius' achievement in education (*The Place of Comenius in the History of Education*, 1892). The researches of the last forty years have further aggrandized his stature, not only as an educator, but as a humanitarian and thinker as well.

Since Masaryk's *Jan Amos Komenský*, Zoubek-Novak's *Life of Jan Amos Komenský*, Johann Kvaczala's *Jobann Amos Comenius, Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, and W. S. Monroe's *Comenius, the Evangelist of Modern Pedagogy*, an increasing number of studies on Comenius have been undertaken. Patera and Kvačala have published his correspondence, while numerous of his works have been issued in critical editions. Since 1892 the *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft* have been appearing in Berlin; and since 1910, the University of Brno has been publishing the *Archives of Researches on the Life and Works of Comenius*. Among the several articles in Czech periodicals, one could mention especially the studies of J. V. Novák, Otakar Chlup and František Drtina, and among the German works, G. Beisswanger's *Amos Comenius als Pansoph*, T. Kerl's biography in three volumes (1904-1906), and a number of studies on his pedagogical innovations. His role as a precursor of the humanitarian doctrines of the eighteenth century and of modern ideas has been stressed in the several treatises of the series: *Jobann Amos Comenius. Dem Menschheitslehrer und Vorkämpfer der Humanität zum Gedächtnis*, edited by G. Heinz, 1922. All of these researches have been incorporated into the volume of Dr. Anna Heyberger, but she has nevertheless been able to authenticate a number of new facts about his life and work. Above all, her understanding of Comenius is sympathetic and sets an example of the "Einfühlung" which alone can vivify a comprehension of the many-sided mind of this patriot who was a convinced internationalist; of this theologian who was a fervent apostle of tolerance; of this philologist who was a lover of humanity; of this pedagogue to whom teaching was inspiration, and who considered himself as an "awakener of souls" rather than as a dispenser of stereotyped "knowledge." Who can predict whether the *Synthesis of Tomorrow*, which will embrace again, in a new unity, the sadly scattered and analytic knowledge of the West, will not owe much to the

pan-national world-mind of this great precursor? Paul Valéry has said: "European thought has always been superior to European politics;" and the pure figure of Comenius rises still above our intellectual groups, as a reminder of how the teacher, beyond his class and beyond his subject, can mould the living flesh of humanity. Comenius, with his all-embracing and naïvely-loving mind, is one of the torches of thought that remains glimmering through the slow settling of the world's night—lifted toward the daybreak which he announced.

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William Frederick Giese, *Sainte-Beuve: A Literary Portrait*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Literature and Language, Madison, 1931.

The new humanists are the most earnest students and stalwart champions of Sainte-Beuve today. This attitude does them the more honor as it is probable that, if he were now alive, he would squeeze the orange of the new humanism as one of the ingredients—doubtless an essential one—of his critical cocktail. "Why substitute the combinations of the study and the school for the ensemble and the natural movement of things," he remarked in speaking of the neoclassicist Nisard. Prof. Giese's study, as brilliantly written as thorough, traces, with ample quotation, the Protean thought of the master. Executed with taste and tact, it is the kind of portrait Sainte-Beuve himself would relish. Faults and weaknesses are not overlooked, yet the pitfall of gossip is avoided. "We lay more stress on Solomon's wisdom than on his wives," remarks Prof. Giese in his introductory chapter on *The Man*. While noting occasional discords, he does not allow them to drown the leitmotiv of wisdom and virtue characteristic of Sainte-Beuve's work as a whole. We cannot say "Burn the literature on the master, its value is in this book," but we may affirm that Prof. Giese has provided an admirable complement to existing critiques. In dealing with such a subject, that is no small achievement.

It is difficult to classify logically under a few rubrics the many phases of Sainte-Beuve's thought. He "belongs to that giant race before the flood (of documentary data) who took all knowledge for their province." Thus the chapter on *The Scholar* discusses first the general temper of his mind, then his insatiate curiosity, his vast and lightly carried erudition in French literature and history, his love of classical antiquity, his bent toward positive scientific knowledge, his consciousness of the danger that science may invade "the citadel of literature" and treat it in an anti-literary spirit, his mastery of the science of human nature studied anew in each individual, and the charm that social life held for him in his earlier years. The chapter ends thus: "He is the historian of human nature in all its higher manifestations, the most loyal and discriminating painter of all the forms and developments of modern French culture." Later sections deal with *The Sceptic*, *The Poet*, *The Novelist*, *The Moralist*, *The Historian*, *The Naturalist*, *The Critic as Impressionist*, *The Critic as Portrait Painter*, *Sainte-Beuve and Romanticism*, *Sainte-Beuve and his Contemporaries*, *Style*, *The Religion of Letters*.

Under the rubric *The Naturalist*, Prof. Giese attacks or sharply limits the frequent attribution of this temper to Sainte-Beuve. His alleged naturalism is

"little more than a by-product of his scepticism. . . The undeniable naturalistic background of his philosophy is almost entirely negative in its influence: it keeps him on occasion from exalting the individual and from emphasizing liberty, and it leaves the way open for the naturalistic explanation which is so seldom and so gropingly suggested. Sainte-Beuve has written only monographs with no larger whole in view; he has confined himself to the individual and there is no science of the individual." Taine was to show what naturalism running amuck may do to sane criticism of literature.

The chapter on *The Critic as Impressionist* is less satisfactory. Prof. Giese's attitude is not entirely clear on this point, always a delicate one for a new humanist to handle. He is aware that Sainte-Beuve's talent is in the caution which keeps him from generalization. He quotes as epigraph to this section: "Criticism for me (as for Monsieur Joubert) is the pleasure of knowing minds, not of ruling them." Sainte-Beuve is distinguished from critics like Boileau and Dr. Johnson by his fear of dogmatizing. He seeks to understand individuals, to sympathize with them if possible in order to know them better. His criterion is based on taste rather than on preconceived principles, but we are reminded that "taste is for him intimately connected with culture—"it is at bottom a blossoming of the very flower of the human spirit"—it is the essence of tradition, and tradition is the embodied reason of the race itself." This is enough to suggest that something is awry in those who adopt other criteria, but Prof. Giese's loyalty to his school seems to make him feel it his duty to regret "the lack of militant fibre in Sainte-Beuve. It is even possible on this score to find him ineffective as a humanist. . . In general it is obvious that he is more intent on motivating judgment than he is on judging. He inclines to involve his verdict in the preliminaries that lead up to it." Why not inoculate all our critics with this sort of impressionism? Many, at least, will agree with André Théhive, who exclaims: "I have always thought that the only men with principles are those who seek in every way to verify them." In fairness it should be added that such is, in general, Prof. Giese's own method.

An attempt to indicate the new and reasoned judgments in this book would make a review of inordinate length. Particularly striking are the chapters on *Sainte-Beuve and Romanticism* and on *Sainte-Beuve and his Contemporaries*. In both Prof. Giese has thrown light on much mooted questions. One quotation must suffice to reveal his general attitude: "The secret of Sainte-Beuve's broad outlook and of his catholic sympathies lay in his freedom from all narrowing and theoretic exclusions, in his openness to the appeal of the most varied inspirations, in the exquisite balance, rare in a Frenchman, that he maintained between nature and culture. In the narrow French sense, he is neither classic nor romantic."

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*The Elucidation: A Prologue to the Conte del Graal.* Edited by Albert Wilder Thompson, New York, Institute of French Studies, 1931.

The verse preface to the *Conte del Graal* in the Mons MS (Bibliothèque Communale, 4568) has hitherto been accessible only in the faulty edition by

Potvin in his *Perceval le Gallois*. The title of this prologue, the *Elucidation*, is somewhat misleading, for the poem obscures more things in the Perceval romance than it explains; nevertheless the appearance of this text of 484 lines, together with an exhaustive introduction, notes, glossary, index, and bibliography, is a welcome event. The most important elucidating, beyond any doubt, is done by Mr. Thompson, the editor, rather than by the Old French poet.

The poem explains, or tries to explain, the sterile condition of the realm of the Grail (which is here identified with Logres); it describes by anticipation the visit of Perceval to the castle, and it summarizes briefly the "seven branches" of the story that are supposed to follow. Probably the most interesting of these sections is the first, which tells about certain water-maidens with golden cups, residents of wells, who were accustomed to serve travelers with food and drink until King Amangons and his followers violated them and carried off the goblets. After that the land became a *terre gastée*, and the descendants of the wronged maidens became involved in war with King Arthur's knights. Mr. Thompson has collected analogues to this tale, the most important of which is told by Gervase of Tilbury in the *Otia Imperialia*; but even in it, the owner of the drinking horn is not a water-nymph (perhaps not any sort of maiden, but a man); there is no crime but robbery involved, and there are no dire consequences to the kingdom. In other words, even this analogue is fairly remote. There is some question about the interpretation of the word *puis*, but Mr. Thompson argues convincingly that it does mean "well," and not "hill" (therefore "fairy-mound" or *siddh*) as has been suggested. Probably the author of the *Elucidation* used a folk-tale about water-maidens because he had read that the land in the romance had become sterile, and water-spirits are commonly and quite logically supposed to have control over the fertility of the earth; but his story is very awkwardly joined to the Arthurian romance, and throws no light on Chrétien's original intent. Mr. Thompson does not mention, by the way, that Gervase's analogue is included in the *Gesta Romanorum*.

The account of the Grail Castle is derived from the romance proper (Chrétien and his continuators), despite the author's statement that it is a shame to anticipate: 320 "Grans vilonie est et grans honte / De si bon conte desmenbrer / Fors ensi com il doit aler." One interesting variation, however, makes the King Fisher an adept in "ningremance," who changes his shape a hundred times! The topical summary of the supposed "seven branches" to follow is more puzzling, since as a matter of fact they do not correspond to adventures in any of the Grail romances. Mr. Thompson suggests very plausibly that this section is an interpolation, since the matter before and after it refers to the same thing: the successful visit to the Grail Castle, which restored the land to plenty. That is probably why the singular noun *ceste aventure* is to be found, disconcertingly enough, after the catalogue of no less than seven adventures.

In the preface, Mr. Thompson discusses other matters: he assigns the language of the author to the Northeast of France, assumes the existence of lost Old French MSS upon which were based the French prose print of 1530 and the German verse of Claus Wisse and Philipp Colin (as part of their *Parzifal*), and tentatively suggests the early thirteenth century as date of composition. Concerning the general significance of the poem he is forced to admit that "those

who have thought that the *Elucidation* would turn out, after further study, to be a real elucidation of some of the problems about the Grail, are mistaken; the work is useless in any attempt to discover more primitive stages of the Grail story than the *Conte del Graal*." More is the pity, when the study is as carefully done as is Mr. Thompson's.

MARGARET SCHLAUCH

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Clifford H. Bissell, *Les Conventions du Théâtre bourgeois contemporain en France, 1887-1914*. Thèse de doctorat, Département de Français, Université de Californie. Paris, Les Presses Universitaires, 1930, xii + 189 pp.

Those who for years have been attempting to define the titles attached to the French plays of this period, "comédie" and "pièce," will be relieved, if not surprised, to know that those tags are used arbitrarily and in a conventional way. Although "comédie" occurs more frequently than "pièce" (and "drame" hardly any longer), in no way do these terms indicate the quantity of comic or tragic elements contained or the author's intentions. So, too, the division into acts and scenes in this theatre is arbitrary and capricious, simply an empty relic of the preceding theatres. Even monologues and apartes are to be found in all but twenty-six of the hundred and fifty-two pieces examined by Dr. Bissell, who makes it obvious that even these conventions were not abolished by the Théâtre Libre. One wonders, however, if they were not only the necessary alternative to the more artificial convention of that school, "les mots de nature," which Dr. Bissell might have mentioned, those innermost thoughts and motives ordinarily deeply hidden which are lucidly and regularly exposed in the lines of the Théâtre Libre characters.

The principle subject of the contemporary bourgeois theatre in France is Love, a wild adulterous passion, a heritage of the Naturalistic and Romantic theatres. Dr. Bissell is right in pointing out its monotony and sameness. His fears of being accused of puritanism are exaggerated; the few personal opinions he offers here and there are sufficient defense. But he makes too much of the difference in psychology and point of view between American and French audiences of the middle class. At least it seems so today if we glance at the offerings of the American cinema or the tabloids. Old maids, male and female, are to be found in France as well as America, but, regardless of habitat, bourgeois morality is more or less uniform, while love, marriage and money continue to form the list of its greatest concerns. This conventional choice of subject, then, (which goes back to Scribe) is only an echo of the social background. And might not the violent, pugnacious atmosphere (after all, essential to drama) of Love be, to some extent, the reflection of the struggling and rising feminist movement of that period?

In Dr. Bissell's enlightening long list of conventional characters the women appear to support this supposition. Mothers are no longer angels, and woman is primarily a sexual, assertive creature, while by way of contrast we have a new type of fresh but independent "jeune fille" (e. g., Suzanne de Villiers of *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie*). No less curious, imperfectly true and stilted are the standard types of rich man, débauché, Jew, and American woman. Although all classes are represented, it is odd that only eleven plays are free from the in-

fluence of Paris. No, even the theatre, in spite of its many reforms, cannot escape centralization in France.

The chapter on Language is one of the best. The end of the debate over the "mot noble" and the "mot propre" only brings a new clumsy situation to the theatre: characters speaking colloquially and vulgarly too often spoil the illusion by interrupting themselves with the author's perfect French. Another curious fact that Dr. Bissell points out is the rare use of foreign language with the exception of English (cf. French in our plays). Unfortunately, in this case, the English is either very poor or out of place. Dr. Bissell's suggestion (p. 154) of the use of collaborators who know English is to be heartily endorsed. When Mistress Schmidt (an English suffragette in Donnay's *Les Eclaireuses*) talks of her friend, an "untergrade de Cambridge," she becomes far too Teutonic to suit us.

In general, Dr. Bissell gives us a good idea of the advance toward truth made in the theatre he studies, and, at the same time, demonstrates that the conventional treatment of love and certain recurrent types hinders it from being entirely satisfactory. Statistics are naturally dull; and the author is to be commended for resisting the temptation to multiply examples. Furthermore, an index and very complete table of contents make this work easy to handle. Here, then, is a compact and essential study of an important and interesting phase of the modern French stage.

S. IRVING STONE

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Saint-Evremond, *La Comédie des Académistes* (*Text of the MS. of 1638*), published with an Introduction by G. L. van Roosbroeck, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., New York, 1931, 72 pp.

Saint-Evremond's famous satire "marks a curious date" (Lintilhac, *Hist. gén. du théâtre en Fr.*, III, p. 68) in the history of modern French literature. With boisterous mischief, it heralds the long shower of pasquils which the Immortals had to weather in the course of their three hundred-year existence. This "pamphlet of the Fronde of the salons" (Lescure, *Œuvres choisies de Saint-Evremond*, p. XX) has been commonly dated from 1643. Prof. van Roosbroeck had the good fortune to find its earliest known manuscript, dated of 1638, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and obliges all lovers of French letters by offering it now in print. He prefaced his edition by a meticulously careful study on the genesis of the play, of which two versions had been printed up to this time. The results of his investigations, supported by scrupulous and ample documentation, are convincing: "In 1637, or at the beginning of 1638, Saint-Evremond, the Count d'Etlan, and others composed the early version of the *Comédie des Académistes*. . . a different draft appeared in print in 1650 . . . about 1680, Saint-Evremond rewrote and transformed the play. . . After a final revision a practically new play, in three acts, appeared in Saint-Evremond's works. . . (1705)." The version of 1638, now printed, differs in many a detail from that of 1650, not easily accessible in Liver's edition, and radically differs from the one commonly known and reprinted at present; its vehemence and its racier language are easily accounted for by the fact that its author or authors

were much closer to the persons and happenings ridiculed than the Saint-Evremond of 1680. The editor supplemented the text by crisp and compact notes which sufficiently lead even the tyro of seventeenth-century French literature to a distinct comprehension of the play.

ARPAD STEINER

HUNTER COLLEGE

J. L. Gerig, *Antoine Arlier and the Renaissance at Nîmes*, Institute of French Studies, New York, 1929, 57 pp.

Besides his name, little has been known of Antoine Arlier, the eminent humanist of Nîmes, who was highly lauded by his contemporaries, and was on terms of close friendship with men like Cardinal Sadolet, Etienne Dolet, Rabelais, and Claude Baduel, and for a while at least, seems to have belonged to the circle of Marguerite de Navarre. Although he published no books, he exerted, by an extensive correspondence, considerable influence on the humanist movement in Southern France, and "ranks high as a literary critic among his contemporaries" (p. 22). Professor Gerig, on the basis of Arlier's letters which had lain buried in the archives of Nîmes since the sixteenth century, has drawn a graphic portrait of this interesting character, and of the tempestuous decade of the fifteen thirties when a period of Storm and Stress was begun by the New Doctrines invading the Provence from East and South. This much too neglected early Renaissance in Southern France, one of whose centers Nîmes was to be, is still far from being entirely cleared up, and it is to be hoped that the author's significant new contribution to this field will be a starting point for numerous investigations. In the work under review, Arlier's correspondence has been profusely drawn upon for illustrations. Though no doubt, some readers will be obligated by the fact that the author translated the Ciceronian periods of the Latin letters into very readable and fluent English, the reviewer would have preferred to have the original texts made accessible. So far as it has been possible to check, the translations seem to be accurate though the average reader will be surprised by expressions like *the Calends of August, the vestals of Tarascon, the triclinium, and republic* (for "city"), which the translator used in order to preserve the quaint flavor of the original. A complete edition of Arlier's epistolary is highly desirable; let us hope that Professor Gerig will fulfil our wish.

ARPAD STEINER

HUNTER COLLEGE

Roberto Ridolfi, *L'Archivio della Famiglia Guicciardini*, Leo S. Olschki, Firenze, 1931, 100 L.

Though it appears in unassuming fashion among current publications, this well-organized and handsomely printed book strikes genuinely new ground, achieving a radical advance in its field. As a contribution to the exploration of the sources of Florentine history, no less than as the first definite listing of many of those sources themselves, till now completely unknown to scholars—public and private documents, personal correspondence, individual and unpublished works of a great Italian author—it stands almost without parallel in the history of erudite research. In a previous notice I had the opportunity to

indicate briefly the discoveries which have been made, after much patient labor, in the Archives of the Guicciardini family in Florence; the final systemization and description of those invaluable additions to knowledge now become generally available in these pages. It is no exaggeration to believe that with them a new phase has begun in the study of the Italian Renaissance. Indeed, the volume derives a kind of aura from its author's manifold accomplishments, upon whose basis the eventual revisions and revaluations of current notions are likely to be numerous.

The Marquis Roberto Ridolfi, who in recent years has taken rank as one of the most distinguished young Tuscan scholars, has been favored by circumstances in carrying his work forward to its present fruitful stage. He is a member of that illustrious Ridolfi family which gave twenty-one Gonfaloniers of Justice and fifty-four Priors of Liberty to the Florentine Republic, descending in the direct line from a daughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent and sister of Leo X. Readers of Italian learned periodicals are familiar with his name as principal editor of the important *Rivista Storica degli Archivi Toscani*, which has given publication to many interesting and hitherto unknown manuscripts. As the result of his researches in the Guicciardini Archives he now adds to his titles to the gratitude of students that of discoverer of three unpublished works of Francesco Guicciardini, new letters of Savonarola, and many files of private and diplomatic correspondence bearing upon all the period of the Renaissance. From now on these materials are bound to be essential to every worker in the field, and the present inventory becomes an indispensable guide, a directory of procedure for researches in one whole department of original investigation.

Some notion of the quantitative aspect of the manuscript sources here described for the first time may be gained from the fact that the lists of the inventory itself occupy 108 large, closely packed pages. Those of the Guicciardini section alone receive attention, being illustrated in a few important cases by appropriate quotations. For the present book does not include the "Pergamene" of the Archive, which will form the subject of a complete register to be published later, nor the large and undoubtedly valuable archives or sections of archives which have come from various Florentine families, by marriage or other means, to augment the Guicciardini collections proper throughout the centuries. At the moment a thorough inventory of the documents possessed by the latter family under its own name has been the essential step to complete; this, however, is intended as the simple *précis* of manuscripts whose content, not yet developed completely in its manifold relations, will probably bring striking evidence to bear upon many controversial points of Renaissance history and literature.

For his description of this primary category, of which the items forming the personal archive of Francesco Guicciardini are the nucleus, the author has provided a preface and a brief historical introduction, in which he gives amazing details of the frequently misguided efforts of previous archivists to whom the collection has been subject. Both are essential for the background and significance of his work, as well as of high informative value to the foreign scholar who may not be too well versed in the traditional methods with which Italian historical sources have been handled by their would-be guardians, methods by no means universally eliminated in the present day. To note very briefly

certain of these vicissitudes, one must return to the original inventory compiled with small benefit of erudition by the well-known Lorenzo Mariani in 1715, to which a kind of addition or supplement was made in 1727 by the priest Giuseppe Brochetti. These efforts were continued by the Abate Decio Maria Gallizioli, who made another rearrangement of the material and described it in an inventory dated 1755. For some unknown reason he separated and placed apart in the rich library of the family all the papers of Francesco Guicciardini, which thus became needlessly detached from the general fund of manuscripts.

This would have been of minor consequence, however, had there not been worse to follow. A very large share of the confusion introduced into the Archive is traceable precisely to the curious attempts of the assiduous Abate Gallizioli; from the appearance of some of the original units which he formed, it seems indeed that he "usasse buttare in aria fogli e quaderni per poi rac coglierli a caso, cucirli e legarli: tanto è assurdo il disordine che egli vi ha introdotto." He was followed in 1762 by a certain Querci, who recopied into a great in-folio of more than a thousand pages the inventory of his predecessor, inserting notices of the most recent accessions to the fund; to him was perhaps likewise due the happy thought of binding the "Pergamene" in volumes, which even till the time of Gallizioli had been fortunately kept rolled. After him came the moderns, principally the conscientious scholar Gherardi, assisted by the now highly reputed archivists Eugenio Casanova and Antonio Panella.

Gherardi undertook his task with praiseworthy method, but life did not suffice him to complete it. He tried, evidently, after the lengthy study needed to gain some notion of the original arrangement, to introduce order among the papers of Francesco Guicciardini, and set to work unbinding the units made by Gallizioli; death took him in the midst of a labor which would doubtless have been one of his most successful, with the inevitable consequence that some groups of papers were left in greater disorder, if possible, than before. Devoting most of his time to the manuscripts of the historian himself, he managed still to arrange and inventory a number of volumes and files which had been scorned by Gallizioli and his companions; but he did not perceive that other documents had been segregated in the library of the family, among them an abundant miscellany containing autograph letters of Savonarola and his most famous associates, which the erudite editor of *Nuovi documenti e studi intorno a Girolamo Savonarola*, (Firenze, Sansoni, 1887) would not have failed to evaluate and publish had he known of their existence. Professor Rostagno, now director of the Laurenziana, who assumed charge of the interrupted critical edition of the *Storia d'Italia*, could repair these misfortunes in part, but the final result visible today shows the former arrangement made by Gallizioli only slightly changed, or its alterations limited in any case to the documents of the historian. In order to avoid creating new confusion, it has seemed best to leave this arrangement as it stands, while restoring the papers of Francesco Guicciardini to their proper place in the Archive. The disorder created by the learned Abbot has been practically nullified for present-day students, however, by the complete new indexing and carding system which the total survey, concluded after more than three years of effort by the Marquis Ridolfi, has made possible at last.

It appears that the reason why so many excellent and even celebrated scholars could work in the Guicciardini Archive without perceiving the im-

portant materials now brought to light is that the papers of Francesco Guicciardini almost exclusively have been studied and used by them: "le quali ne sono in effetto la sola e minima parte studiata e valorizzata." Till now this single preoccupation has caused all the other documents to be neglected, rather indeed, excepting those inventoried by Gherardi and his assistants, to remain unknown. Thus one has the strange spectacle of a vast collection of manuscripts whose treasures have been practically excluded from the general use of scholars by the dominating fascination of one splendid name, together with the fearful confusion produced in the whole fund by former archivists themselves. It is less explicable how the lengthy *Storia di Firenze* of the great writer, unknown till the present work, could be drawn directly from the section which has received the most constant attention of all.

In publishing his book, the Marquis Ridolfi has wished to do more than offer a simple inventory; rather, he has attempted in every way to conform to the desirable principles set forth by the Academy of Italy in this regard, which it may be well to recall here in their three main points: 1) the illustration of the fund, to show its formation, contents, and importance; 2) the list or inventory, more or less broad and complete, of the material; 3) the publication *in extenso*, with the aid of facsimiles, etc., of the most important sections of the material itself, in order to give an adequate notion thereof. By offering much more than a bare inventory, by the extended selections of Savonarolan letters and other documents published within his text, and by a series of well finished facsimiles, he has provided an intelligent and well developed study of the new contributions which these documents bring to learning. Thus his total effort surpasses the field of the inventory and enters that of the monograph. The author has been particularly concerned to develop this transformation of the archivist's task into something more valuable; he has abundantly succeeded, and his volume, in this additional respect, points the way to a new order of things in its kind.

It has been impossible to give attention in the brief course of a review to many valuable items mentioned by the new lists of the Archive, or to follow the history of the losses, many important but fortunately fewer than has been the case elsewhere, which the Guicciardini collection has suffered from time to time. In conclusion, however, it will perhaps be serviceable to indicate the additional archives that receive only a preliminary notice in the present work. They consist of papers originally belonging to the Bardi, Bardi di Vernio, Morrocchi, Pucci, Albizzi, Venturi, Soccia, Franceschi, and Ridolfi. The author expresses the intention to devote a second volume to them when time will allow; one can only hope he may be able to pursue this needful labor as rapidly as possible in the midst of his multiple and no less pressing enterprises.

FLORENCE, ITALY

P. H. HARRIS

#### NOTE ON THE PUBLICATION OF MATERIALS DRAWN FROM THE GUICCIARDINI ARCHIVES

Since a preceding notice given in the ROMANIC REVIEW (XXII, July-September, 1931, pp. 251-254) regarding the contemplated publication of various manuscripts discovered in the Guicciardini Archives, a number of

changes have been introduced into this plan which may be of interest to scholars; their indication will serve at least to keep up to date the details of the program hitherto mentioned.

To relieve the Marquis Ridolfi of a part of the burden placed upon him by his many activities in the editing of manuscripts, two of the works of Francesco Guicciardini discovered by him, the *Diario dell'Andata in Spagna* and the *Discorsi politici e documenti riguardanti la politica estera di Clemente VII avanti la lega di Cognac* will be published instead, in their *editio princeps*, by Count Paolo Guicciardini. The Marquis Ridolfi will retain the charge of publishing the important *Storia di Firenze*, but his task will be given aid and much additional prestige from the fact that he will now do so in the name of the Royal Academy of Italy, which has indicated by this means its high consideration of the work he has accomplished and is still to complete upon this unknown and capital production of the great historian. The revised and corrected edition of his inventory, under the title *L'Archivio della Famiglia Guicciardini*, is available at present from the publisher, Leo S. Olschki, by whom it has been recently issued in handsome format.

The appearance of his two-volume work on the *Archivi delle private famiglie fiorentine*, a general survey of the explorations conducted in Florentine private archives and of definitive value in its field, of which the first volume was announced for publication during the Spring of 1931, has been delayed, due to the large share of additional labor to complete upon it. At the present time the author is wholly occupied by his new edition of the *Epistolario* of Savonarola, containing the letters found in the Guicciardini Archives, and a newly corrected and completed text of many others to which only a partial justice has thus far been done elsewhere, including about twenty unknown to the special bibliography of Capponi. Curiously enough, this will be the first critical edition of Savonarola's letters, filling thus an urgent need; it is to be hoped that its appearance will precede that of other less valuable and non-critical reprintings of the Savonarolan correspondence that have been forecast in Italy. The *Letters of Donato Giannotti*, found by the Marquis Ridolfi in the British Museum, are being steadily published in the current issues of the *Rivista Storica degli Archivi Toscani*, and will eventually be given book-form by Vallecchi, Florence.

Plans have been established for the publication of the highly important diplomatic and private correspondence which exists in the Archive and whose immense value has now been realized for the first time; this further program will be made known in definite form, when all details are completed, at a somewhat later date.

FLORENCE, ITALY

P. H. HARRIS

#### MODERN LITERATURE

Michel Georges-Michel, *Left Bank*. . . Translated by Keene Wallis from the French Novel *Les Montparnos*. . . N. Y., Horace Liveright, (1931), X + 262 pp.

Almost a century after *Chatterton* this volume renews the indictment of a heartless society that crushes and starves creative genius and drives the original

artist to despair. The indictment risks to leave us unmoved: Have we not classified the "crushed genius" as a highly "Romantic" phenomenon? And such a classification has the advantage of delivering us of all sense of participation and guilt,—of all remorse. The "crushed genius" appears thus largely as an attitude of mind, a kind of voluntary seeking after martyrdom by artists who simply insist on breaking down by disillusion and starvation whereas they could have adapted themselves, smugly and comfortably, to the "necessities of life"—their quest for undiscovered beauty forever forgotten.

Once we have labelled any mental attitude, or any set of values, as "Romantic," we seem to imply that they are vaguely evil—an unjustified deviation from normalcy, a disquieting, if somewhat undefinable, disease. And when an artist prefers,—if necessary,—want and woe in the name of his art, to a well-paid prostitution of his talent,—we are tempted to deprecate his "Romantic" attitude as a sin against the supremacy of the "established taste", or the dictates of "common sense", or the other household deities to which we are inclined to pay traditional reverence.

"Romantic"—that chameleon term of changing hues, stuffed with a hundred conflicting notions,—has frequently become an exorcising formula, the recitation of which endows us with a somewhat willful blindness before the spectacle of human misery, which allows us to discount mental anguish and the dolorous awareness of life as mere "romantic melancholia,"—and to suspect suffering because of artistic integrity as self-flagellation.

The hero of *Left Bank* is the modernist painter Modigliani, "un va-nu-pieds, un crève-de-faim" (as Jehan Rictus said), who exchanged unique canvases for glass of wine, a plate of soup, or a night's lodging—although some adventures and overtones have been added from the life of Utrillo, who knew a similar fate. Their works have now brought nice round bags of gold to each of the good Samaritans who knew how to combine a minimum of well-placed charity with a maximum of future reward for themselves. There is, for instance, one of his temporary saviors, an Armenian, who had given up the peddling of silk stockings for the more lucrative trade in canvases of starving artists. He installs Modulleau (Modigliani) in his cellar and gives him a few francs a day with the admonition: "*I want nothing but masterpieces.*" Yet he bewails the "waste of paint" when the inspired artist smears it on too profusely. . . . The exploited artist paints in a frenzied outburst of pent-up poetry, sustained by his ascetic, his purely artistic, love for "Haricot-Rouge," a grocer's daughter thus nicknamed because of the packages of red horse-beans which she dispensed freely to impecunious painters.

In contrast with this pure idealization, the artist is drawn into a more sensuous love-affair, only to discover too late that an aristocratic lady, for reasons of social shame, has murdered his dream. His life and his art remain inseparably blended. To him, painting is not a trade, a collection of clever artifices of which he is the masterly manipulator,—it is a deep and unavoidable necessity, a vital hunger that defies everything: misunderstanding, starvation, slander, and physical suffering. It is an undeviating torture for the expression of an ever-receding and an ever more exalted beauty, a quest which bursts asunder the limits of every theory, which bids him forever to surpass himself, and to re-create his creations on a forever higher plane. So Modigliani was

forced to replace the orthodox Cubist technique by a less preconceived intellectual art, more vitally explosive and more "Romantic" in the highest sense of this much-abused word. Yet in the midst of this supreme artistic fulfillment, in a sudden burst of illumination, he brushed a few supreme canvases, the ultimate expression of his art,—before his downfall and death. They were destroyed by an idiotic janitor who used the scraped cloth as covers for cast-out furniture. . . .

Amidst this symbolic tragedy of the modern artist and of his heroic struggle, there move the well-known figures of the modernists: Kisling, Picasso, Fujita, the poet Blaise Cendrars, the musician Stravinsky, as well as some more synthetically imaginary characters, such as Despero, the futurist, who repeats phrases from Marinetti's manifestoes. With all its dramatization, and even its improbability in detail, *Left Bank* contains an essential core of unattackable truth which only hypocrisy and cowardice can dismiss with a smile or a shrug.

In French the volume was published about six years ago as *Les Montparnos*, —an unhappy title with a vaudeville flavor! It is a striking counterpart to André Salmon's *La Négresse du Sacré-Cœur* (translated as *Black Venus*),<sup>1</sup> which also presented a tableau of the Picasso-Bohème. Over Salmon's imaginary adventure there still lingered the shadow of the "dilettante." *Black Venus* is a flight far from reality into a playful primitivism, into an Africa of dream, where only mild spiritual adventures beguile the weary artist in his quest for a super-reality. But in *Left Bank* the artist struggles in the midst of biting misery, with a dramatic earnestness. Art-creation is to him a cult to which the artist himself has to be sacrificed,—since he is but a bridge to a greater art, since the coming Messiah of a new Revelation is prayerfully expected to reveal himself in clouds of glory.

Art as amusement, art as a business, art as an escape,—all of those are opposed to art as supreme realization of artistic consciousness of which only a few, the *Bohèmes tragiques*, have been both the glorious exponents and the social victims. On their weary and winding roads these pilgrims of the absolute have been too high-pitched in their Messianic fervor, too uncompromising in their will to self-realization! A strange vindictiveness seems to incite their fellow-men and their fellow-workers to the negation of their work and their efforts. And whether we classify the *génie méconnu* as a "Romantic" attitude or not, we are starkly confronted with the undeniable fact that, from generation to generation, the most original artists, from El Greco to Rimbaud, have only found renown as a belated glory—"le soleil des morts"—late evening sun bleeding over their graves. . . .

In each generation they are the small phalanx of the *Bohèmes tragiques*, to whom the artistic life is *not* stage-setting, make-believe and decoration, but unrelenting struggle with the dark Daimon who exacts the sacrifice of the Self to Art. They have nothing in common with the *Bohème Galante*—admired by bejewelled sensation-seekers—of easy laughter and easy tears, of theatrical misery and more theatrical glory, of "masterpieces" painted in icy attics, but sold for a fortune at the right moment. They belong to a *Bohème*,—that of Villon and Baudelaire,—which is now dead forever.

<sup>1</sup> See my review in the *Romanic Review*, XXII, no. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 157-159.

A few artists survive, here and there, who still believe in the essential nobility of an independent life consecrated to the creation of new beauty,—even at the price of suffering. A few survive,—but they are stigmatized, of course, as "queer, impractical, senseless, and anti-social" by those highly-paid artistic industrialists who turn out for popular consumption stories by the double dozen—each one of them touchingly reproducing the preceding one, with "satisfaction guaranteed." The well-rewarded drawers of angelic or diabolically enticing girl's faces for magazine covers, the estimable painters of very flattering portraits of fashionable ladies, the genteel putters at nice canvases for dreary drawing-rooms,—who all have a slight tendency to measure art by its material reward,—confess no esteem for these solitary innovators, who insist on disturbing the "prevailing styles" in painting and on confusing the unwily customers.

Yet, even in the midst of their deserved success as third-hand commercializers, they have a guilty conscience. Most of them pay some lip-reverence to the eternal *Bobême tragique*. In their studios, many a Buddha sits mysteriously enshrined against a setting of red damask and gold carving, oriental perfumes cloud cloyingly from old bronze incense-burners, and weave an iridescent haze around the expensive gold frame of a painting by one of these pariah-artists, acquired at a bargain. . . . The *Bobême as pose*, the *Bobême dorée*, the exploitation of the bourgeois notion of the artistic temperament! Candles and curios, *Chat-Noir* horrors, frocks, freaks and freedom, conventional revolts. . . .

And it may well be that some canvas of Modigliani, the "crève-de-faim," will adorn the pale purple panels of these expensive studios, and that before the poor remains of a life of privation and impetuous will-to-art,—the dilettanti *Bobêmes* will for a moment, between two cocktails and two frivolities, feel vaguely and strangely moved by the dark fate of this man of genius,—who did not *act* the artist, but ecstatically *lived* his art as self-exaltation and as self-destruction. They may be moved by it—with a skin-deep remorse, perhaps,—as before a tragedy in which they do not participate, but which they applaud with a fatuous feeling of personal safety and superior worldliness.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

Jules Lévy, *Les Hydropathes, Prose et Vers*. . . . Paris, A. Delpeuch, 1928, 238 pp.

The ephemeral literary group, *Les Hydropathes*, started at the time of the earliest stirrings of Symbolism, in 1878,—and was disrupted at the beginning of 1881. Or, rather, it subdivided into the commercialized *Chat Noir*, press-agented by that Barnum of the *Bobême*, Rodolphe Salis,—into the rather eccentric club *Les Hirsutes*, and into the more artistically conscious gatherings of *Les Décadents*, whose name was destined to so high a fortune in literary history.

In 1883 the *Décadents* split up into other short-lived associations, as *Les Jeunes* and *Les Zutistes*, but it had furnished conservative critics with a weapon—the myth of "decadence,"—and the young poets with a war-cry. The

history of its picturesque progeny rather than its own value or achievement, will perpetuate the singular name of the *Hydropathes* in literary history. It had no real program, it fostered no particular tendency in art; it aimed only at organizing meetings of poets, actors, musicians and dilettanti, who "devisaient d'art et de Beauté." Jules Lévy, in his introduction to this anthology of poets of the *Hydropathes*-group, states that the five founders (Abram, Emile Goudeau, Georges Lorin, Rives and Maurice Rollinat) "voulaient fonder une école." But in such case, the projected "school" should have acclaimed disparity as its unifying principle. The most talented among them, Rollinat, then the poet of *Les Névroses*, had no common artistic meeting ground with, for instance, the *fantaisiste* Emile Goudeau, the author of *Poèmes à dire* which remain well within the Montmartre-cabaret tradition. And the poets who joined them soon must have added to the confusion and the dissimilarity: Jean Moréas, who tried out his early poems at their gatherings; Maurice MacNab, who became one of the most renowned *disseurs* of the *Chat Noir*; Henri de Régnier, already aristocratically abstruse; Paul Bourget, whose early verse is now rightly forgotten; Georges Rodenbach, the dreamy author of *Bruges-la-Morte*; Maria Krysińska and Gustave Kahn, who have both been accused of having "invented" free verse; Rachilde, Charles Cros, Pierre Mille, and—more occasionally,—Jean Richépin, Guy de Maupassant, François Coppée, Paul Arène,—and many others whose very names are now hardly remembered. Such a numerous group, which at the height of its success counted almost 250 members, carried in itself sufficient divergencies of temperament and artistic practice to make its early dissolution almost unavoidable. Even the eccentric name, *Les Hydropathes*, had no particular meaning. Emile Goudeau had derived it from a successful Viennese waltz, the *Hydropathen-Walzer*, composed by Gung'l for the dancing parties at a watering resort. Its obscure title was most misleadingly "translated" as *La Valse de l'homme aux pattes de crystal!* Jules Lévy explains the adoption of the term as a literary signboard: "Goudeau qui était un savant helléniste avait trouvé dans l'étymologie grecque, *udor petein*, une analogie avec son propre nom patronymique. Il en avait été frappé et le nom d'hydropathe était né, tout simplement parce que Goudeau était à la tête du groupe qui se fondait." (pp. 6-7).

The qualification "Hydropathes" had, then, evidently no more esthetic significance, no more implication of doctrine, than "Les Hirsutes" or "Les Zutistes"; and "Les Décadents" was an equally ephemeral and insignificant designation into which no tragic meanings should have been read.

This anthology, *Les Hydropathes*, mirrors the diversity of talent and tendencies of the members of this short-lived group. It ranges all the way from Rabelaisian parodies of *La Légende des Siècles* (E. Goudeau, *Les Polonais*), of Théophile Gautier's *Symphonie en Blanc Majeur* (P. Bilhaud, *Symphonie en Lac majeur*), to mock-imitations of popular songs, and much "blague de café-concert," to sentimental sonnets about a patient hack-horse ("Le sublime animal dont nous ferions un saint si Dieu l'avait fait homme!"), or to Rodenbach's vaguely whispered songs of mortal melancholy (*Le Ciel est gris, mon Ame est grise*), or to boisterous drinking refrains and pseudo-popular ballads of rebellion by Jean Richépin. As was to be expected from these precursors of the "Poètes de Montmartre," a number are written in the Parisian "argot," but none ap-

proach at all the sarcastic intensity of Jean Rictus' *La Soliloque du Pauvre*, who lifted this device of the "Chansonniers" to expressively human poetry. And he was not alone among the more talented poets to take color from the eccentric inspirations of the popular "fantaisiste." Jules Laforgue has a *Chanson du Petit Hypertrophique* in a mock-tragic Montmartre style, and his *Complaintes*, though esthetically far superior, yet borrowed their very title from such productions as P. Bilhaud's *La Complainte du fromage*, MacNab's *Complainte du bienheureux Labre*, etc. The parody-mania of the "Chansonniers" reminds one occasionally of Jarry's *Ubu Roi*: the heroes of this Rabelaisian farce are the incredibly grotesque "Polonais" whose epic deeds had already been sung by E. Goudeau (*Les Polonais*, p. 74). More in general, the several coolly sarcastic songs celebrating the blood-spattering guillotine ("La Veuve"), for which the "Fantaisistes macabres" showed a decided preference,—were quite definitely intensified in the cruelly-uproarious hymn about "guillotining the bourgeois" which winds up *Ubu Roi* to the tune of a vaudeville song of gleeful massacre.

Accidentally the cabaret-poets even stumbled, some fifty years ago, upon lines which we might have found, without much astonishment in, let us say, Guillaume Apollinaire:

"Dans l'or et l'azur bébés marchaient  
Comme des gens ivres;  
Les cafés-concerts grands ouverts crachaient  
Les notes des cuivres,  
Sonnant l'hallali des vents et des givres.  
Et loin de leurs livres  
Des négociants rêveurs chevauchaient." (p. 86).

The historical importance of these "Cénacles" which mark the transition period of Symbolism is so obvious, that their profuse but now rare publications should be studied attentively. The *Hydropathes*, for instance, published a periodical of which, according to Jules Lévy, only one complete set is known to exist. The early paper, *Le Décadent*, and a number of the many daring forlorn-hopes sent out by the artistic groups of that time, should give us a more connected view of the genesis of Symbolism as an art movement. Let us hope that those who took part in the early skirmishes of Symbolism will leave us their memoirs, as for example Gustave Kahn and Emile Goudeau in his *Dix Ans de Bohème*, have done. Jules Lévy calculates with great precision that there are still fifty-four members of the *Hydropathes* alive, out of a group of about two hundred thirty-five, so that we may possibly expect increasing information about the confused and almost legendary period of the early diffusion of Symbolism from 1876 to 1886.

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Maurice Souriau, *Histoire du Parnasse*. Ed. Spes, Paris, 1929.

I am going to speak somewhat at length of this book because the movement it chronicles is too important not to call for a little integrity and purity of point of view in forming our final estimate of it. In the last analysis our

only justification, our "raison d'être" as scholars is the dignified attitude of sympathy and reason we must show in our elaboration of what we call literary history.

M. Souriau is well-known as a historian of the Romantic period. But his *Histoire du Parnasse*, I must say at the start, stands many fathoms below the level of his *Histoire du Romantisme*. His book partakes of the qualities and failings of the Parnasse itself. It is rigid, intransigent, unreasonable in its prejudices. It has also the self-sufficiency, the contemptuous mood, the hatreds and enthusiasms of some of the Parnassians. He starts out with the time-honored method of belittling whatever contributions have been made in this field prior to his book. In the praiseworthy attempt to discover the true ancestry of the School, he makes use of Gautier as a smoke screen to conceal a shadow that annoys him: Chénier. Now whatever be the failings of their Hellenic erudition, M. Desonay has shown that the Parnassians' infatuation with everything Attic was sincere. M. Souriau dismisses M. Desonay and his *Rêve hellénique* jestingly. How naïve of M. Desonay. It was only a "rêve," indeed!

There are four men whom M. Souriau thoroughly appreciates, and to whom he does not begrudge his praises, because one understands best what one loves best. They are Hérédia, Leconte de Lisle, Frédéric Plessis, Déroulède. I shall return to the last two later. In Hérédia, his admiration for the poet is equalled by his enthusiasm for the man, for his politeness, his elegance, the seductive charms of the "homme du monde" and descendant of the grandes of Spain. But it is when he speaks of Lisle that M. Souriau gives a true measure of his noble faculty of critic. This chapter is the most satisfactory in the book. It makes no contribution of an original character, it is true. He criticises Lisle's knowledge of Hindu religions, although his own erudition on the subject, he admits, is only that of a "français moyen." The poet may make a slip in matters of detail. But the poetic atmosphere he creates is thoroughly convincing. Moreover it seems paradoxical for one who repeats after M. Burnouf that the doctrine of Çakia-Mouni is a "pur galimatias philosophique" to censure the poet for his sins of omission or commission in this field. On the whole, however, his study of Lisle is quite up to M. Souriau's true level. In doing justice to the poet, the critic has done himself justice.

Let me come now to M. Souriau's "bêtes noires." They form a legion. Baudelaire, Banville, Mendès, Anatole France, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, and the whole symbolistic school into the bargain. Baudelaire, he says, begged to be taken into the Parnasse of 1866. This is absolutely incorrect. He is only a "fantôme sinistre, prisonnier du rôle qu'il a voulu jouer, victime de ses propres mystifications." And then the *coup de grâce*. He is only a "Don César se redressant devant Salluste." Horrors! But Baudelaire's rise seems to scare and mystify M. Souriau himself. Then comes Banville's turn, and the critic's incensement reaches inquisitional degrees. "Comme penseur Th. de Banville n'existe pas. . . N'essayons pas d'étudier sa psychologie ou sa morale: c'est le néant; il n'y a pas de science du frivole, . . . c'est un clown." If M. Souriau could only retain his critical composure I could show him where he had said, more justly, in behalf of Gautier that "les poètes ne sont pas tenus d'être des philosophes." But let us turn the page. Here is Villiers. "Son linge

est douteux," he is a "tapeur," he abuses the hospitality of the Benedictines of Solesmes, accepts that of Nina de Villard; he reads Hegel "pour étonner le coin des philosophes à la brasserie des Martyrs"; in his agony, "son dernier mot, son dernier cri, c'est: Malte." A beautiful gesture if true. But his authority is Robert de Montesquiou. Now Villiers died at one o'clock in the morning, and it is a sure bet that Montesquiou was not there. His entire chapter does not contain a single reference to Villiers' works. "Son existence littéraire la plus productive, la plus brillante, ne nous appartient pas," and he does not refer to it. Yet on page 429 he classes him as "un vrai Parnassien." He condemns him a priori. "Au lieu d'écrire, il a causé." What Villiers wrote, eleven volumes in the *Mercure de France* edition, seems to be terra incognita to this historian of the Parnasse.

Villiers' fellow symbolists do not fare any better at this banquet. Of Banville's kindness to Rimbaud and other such "brebis galeuses" he remarks: "Par sa faute, le Parnasse est, pendant quelque temps, encombré d'un compagnon douteux." Verlaine's aptitude was principally, it seems, for stabbing his friends. Mallarmé published his last intelligible poem in the *Parnasse* of 1869. But Mallarmé did not publish anything in that number. Afterwards, "la lueur s'éteint." And M. Souriau goes on to speak of Mallarmé for four more pages, evidently in the dark. But the whole symbolistic movement finds as little serene judgment in the eyes of this historian as it did in those of Lisle, its natural antagonist. It is not a patriotic movement, anyway. "Les noms français y sont rares." Let us see: Stéphane Mallarmé, Arthur Rimbaud, Henri de Régnier, Jules Laforgue, André Gide, Rémy de Gourmont, Albert Samain, Camille Mauclair, Francis Jammes, Paul Valéry, Pierre Louys, Paul Verlaine, to cite only a few familiar names.

However, I am not concerned here over his undignified sorties against the symbolists. They are boomerangs. This is a history of the Parnasse. Let me resume and conclude by setting his treatment of Anatole France and Catulle Mendès on the one hand, and that of Frédéric Plessis and Déroulède, on the other, side by side. The contrast will reveal the guiding spirit of this history. Anatole France, he assures us, is an "homme dangereux," he is "le roi des plagiaires" and other such terrible things. He does not care if his chapter is found to be "insuffisant, inintelligent, scandaleux." His doctrine is apparently that a historian is not bound to be fair to those he dislikes. The secret of this dislike, however, is not hard to discover. M. Souriau is diaphanous in this respect. It is A. France's anticlericalism and political radicalism. Catulle Mendès is sacrificed at the same slaughter-house. He is immoral, obscene, he sings "des chansons pourries," he has—unheard-of literary crime—"une amie." He is a "faux témoin," he is, out comes the red herring, "un Judas" (p. 242).

Now in contrast to this his study of Frédéric Plessis is a real panegyric. But Plessis has in him "le rayon chrétien." M. Souriau takes as his critical criterion this assertion of Paul Bourget: "il n'y a pas de vie profonde hors de l'église, pas plus pour le pays que pour l'individu." And now we are prepared to hear the apotheosis of Déroulède. The Parnassians did not want him. Fortunately for the "honneur de l'Ecole," Louis Ménard defended him. M. Souriau is moved to tears by the following verse of Déroulède:

"Mais un jet de sang noir s'échappa de sa bouche."

He considers this "plus réconfortant que la théorie de l'art pour l'art." Then he is very ill-fitted to be its historian. Déroulède was "grand comme la colonne de fumée qui jadis guidait le peuple élu, et qui nous a conduits à Strasbourg." Everyone will approve these fine sentiments. But why write a *Histoire du Parnasse* to proclaim them? Why not a political pamphlet? It would have been more appropriate and dignified. There is at least one temple not infected yet by the virus of political and military fanaticism. That is literary criticism. Let us keep it clean. For M. Souriau, in conclusion, the Parnasse had two leaders, one it recognized, Leconte de Lisle, the other it did not, Déroulède. The first brought it "le plus noir pessimisme," the second "le plus vivifiant patriotisme. De quel côté est la doctrine de force, de santé, de vie?" We can guess what M. Souriau's answer is. "Déroulède . . . a comblé la lacune du Parnasse." Having refused to accept him as one of their own in their lifetime, the Parnassian poets have the misfortune of finding their "historian" stuff him down their souls in their graves. And that is the way literary history is written.

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Jean Royère, *Mallarmé. Précédé d'une lettre sur Mallarmé de Paul Valéry.* Albert Messein, ed., Paris, 1931.

M. Jean Royère is a poet and a mystic, and, next to M. Paul Valéry, the most ardent priest of the Mallarmean cult, the most jealous defender of the poet's memory. When two such poets join their prodigious talents to penetrate the mystery of the poetry and art of their teacher, the result, we may be sure, must surpass anything that the mere critic can encompass and grasp. And in this case it does.

Valéry's letter is a supreme hommage to the man who lifted the profession of writing to the pinnacle of purism, who, if there are saints among the religious ascetics, is a saint by virtue of his artistic asceticism. Under his spiritual aedileship, Valéry tells us, he came to set a higher value on mediocre but tenaciously laboured poetry than on a masterpiece that was the result of easy inspiration and ecstasy. Because, he explains, "l'art et la peine nous augmentent; mais la muse et la chance ne nous font que prendre et quitter." But that is to regard the Muse as a facile courtesan. Valéry knows very well that no true poet countenances such an illusion.

However, to return to Royère, his book, compared to such a one as Thibaudet's on the same subject, is both dithyrambic and hyperbolic. It has the character of a liturgy written to celebrate an esthetic Mass in honor of the Master. He transfigures his hero into a Messiah. In the poet's renunciation of the rewards and honors of a social position he never envied, he is not far from seeing a self-immolation in view of a spiritual rebirth. And this is a just view of the case, to be sure. "L'esthétique suprême," he writes, "est un *credo* que sa vie dans son œuvre élaboré." And throughout he uses terms of ritual. Villiers, he declares, was for him "l'occasion d'un *sacre*," in whom he saw "le personnage apostolique, le Témoin." It is difficult, therefore, to analyse or criticise a book that has the character of a hymn. One does not judge an article of faith. His book is, as he entitles his first chapter, a "Biographie mystique."

Nevertheless, one must make a few embarrassed reservations. M. Royère says that Mallarmé's poetry is the essence of life and reality, because the poet lived his life of nature and love while wholly absorbed in it. From this point of view one might also claim that the image one sees of oneself in a mirror is one's true self. But the image is true only in so far as what lies outside the mirror is real. Again M. Royère sees Mallarmé composing his art strictly with the elements of life, "en s'interdisant le rêve." If this were so, Mallarmé would thereby lose a great deal of what makes for his originality. It would be more correct to say, I believe, that Mallarmé composes his life from the point of view of dream.

In another line of thought, M. Royère makes a peculiar statement. Mallarmé took his academic retreat in August 1893. He died September 9, 1898. "Cela lui fait cinq ans de vie odieuse!" comments M. Royère. Does he mean to say that his thirty years of teaching were a path strewn with roses? On the contrary.

M. Royère is a poet and an esthetician. He is the originator of the doctrine of *musicisme*. Whatever be its merits, it is not Mallarmé's doctrine. But M. Royère is not far from grafting it on him. And on its trail we get such delights as: *physicisme*, *esthétisme*, *érotisme*, *éréthisme*, *picturisme*, *plasticisme*, all for the elucidation of what is by its own light crystal pure. Indeed, summing up one of his chapters, M. Royère declares: "je n'ai fait que disposer autour de son visage quelques ombres pour la clarté." There is no irony in this. It would be out of place. Unfortunately, shadows are intangible things. They get easily out of control, and instead of shedding light, they do what most shadows do, they make Mallarmé's own light more crepuscular than it actually is.

The impression M. Royère creates of the poet and his poetry is, strangely enough, more vague and evanescent than a knowledge of the poet's life and a study of his poetry warrant. This is due to the fact that M. Royère idealizes his subject to the extent of covering him with a thick veil of mystic adoration, whereas the rôle of the critic is to take off the veil, gently, respectfully; to show the poet in the radiant light of day, not in the twilight of an occult temple.

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#### ITALIAN LITERATURE IN 1931

VIEWED in retrospect, literary activity in Italy last season proceeded normally with but little slackening of pace in several departments. Theatrical activity, let us say, suffered the most. Under the present world-wide depression, however, Italian publication has held its own. We were glad, too, to note the continuation of the new literary and bibliographical magazines (*Leonardo*, *La Nuova Italia*, etc.), launched courageously the previous season. Nor was literary discussion apathetic; and, if not as spirited as in 1930, at least it had other redeeming features,—that of good will and constructiveness.

In one respect, however, the 1931 season was regrettable indeed for Italy. It witnessed the premature death of Fausto Maria Martini, known to Americans principally as the author of the unforgettable *Laugh, Clown Laugh!*. Martini's

death in April came but a few months after that of Antonio Beltramelli and Umberto Fracchia. Of these three major writers only Beltramelli had reached his fiftieth year! And now, word reaches us that death has claimed another of Italy's writers: Enrico Corradini, ardent nationalist, passed on in December last. For an obituary of Martini and a bibliography of his principal works see THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1931, No. 3, pp. 255-256. We shall try to insert a brief study on Corradini in the next issue of this magazine.

FICTION—Before turning to the discussion proper, we find it apropos to refer to a lecture on the novel delivered by Nino Savaresi at Messina in February, 1931. This lecture, with its note of dissension, appeared, at its inception, the launching of a vigorous polemic. For obvious reasons, however, the polemic failed to gain proper momentum: too few writers took issue. To sum up briefly, we may state that Savaresi would discard a methodic or architectonic structure as a formula to novel writing. Rather, he would couch the Italian novel in "pure art," or, in other words, the artistic vein. He maintains that the taste for the poetic, the pictorial, the musical is deep-rooted in the Peninsula; and it is along these channels that the Italian finds best expression. Opposite views were taken by Alberto Moravia, who, in 1929, furnished something of a literary sensation in his novel *Gli indifferenti*. Moravia remarks with equanimity that the great novels of any literature, couched in the artistic vein, do not necessarily preclude architectonic structure based on research. These views are to be found in detail in the first and second March, 1931, issues of *L'Italia Letteraria*, and in THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1931, No. 2, pp. 164-165.

At the head of the list of the season's publications Giovanni Papini's *Gog* (Florence) takes its place. It is a work containing Papini's most potent prescription: quantities of explosive materials. As such it was subject of much comment, both in Italy and elsewhere. In point of fact it was translated into various languages (the American edition was put out by Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York). In *Gog* admirers saw Papini again as the roaring lion of a decade or so ago,—Papini of *La Voce* and *Lacerba*. Here he hurls an invective against this civilization of ours, disapproving of the trend to modernity towards which the arts are pointed. In the present volume *Gog*, the giant, is symbolical of the anomalous, the grotesque. In short, this beast, invested with riches and power, is Satan himself in search of excesses. Papini discusses seventy topics in a playful mood. Discount an alarmist's note that permeates the whole book and you still have left a work of entertainment and humor. For a more detailed discussion see THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1931, No. 2, pp. 165-166.

A novel of sound composition, *Beati misericordes* (Turin), was put out by Giuseppe Morpurgo. Excellently narrated (though somewhat lengthy), the novel's chief merits lie in spiritual and human values. (See THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1931, No. 3, pp. 256-257). Next in order we could record two books of Delfino Cinelli, *The Career of Riccardo Bonòmini* and *Five Thousand Lire* (Milan). Let us recall that *The Career of Riccardo Bonòmini*, in a cosmopolitan atmosphere, was in the form of philosophical dialogues, or if you will, literary quibblings. Fortunately, its style with a slight tendency to prolixity did not prevent the book as whole from being chatty, learned, amusing. On the other hand, when we consider *Five Thousand Lire* we find in it a novel couched in realism on a provincial background. Whatever conclusions we may draw as

to the characters, we may say that they seem to be synthetic, rather than of the soil; nevertheless, we cannot overlook the other merits of the book. Cinelli never disappoints in the craft of story-telling. In *Giovanni Malizia (Palermo)* G. M. Commandè contributed an historico-regional novel, depicting Sicily of 1840 or thereabouts—Sicily after the Bourbonic Restoration when law and command passed into the hands of powerful personalities, of the Francesco Crispi or the Giovanni Malizia type. Sicilians as exemplified by the latter felt early the necessity of a central national government. Setting aside the historical motives of the novel, there are other values. These are to be found in the chapters such as deal with customs and conventions.

Among the most important prizes awarded, that of the "Mondadori Academy" went to Fernando Palazzi for his novel, *Storia amorosa di Rosetta e del Cavalier de Nérac* (Milan). In an 18th century setting, it offers a dazzling and intriguing picture of a yesteryear, with its adventures and colorful romance. Written in a straight-forward style plus comic motives, it offers, above all, pleasant reading. The "Bagutta Prize" was awarded to Gino Rocca for his *Gli ultimi furono i primi (The Last Were First)* (Milan), a novel dedicated to Venice, "The Immortal City." It deals with the Venice of some distant future epoch. It depicts a man living in the realms of the arbitrary, a world of beauty, tinged with an atmosphere of melancholy. Fragmentarily composed, the novel is difficult to follow. Its style shows imprints of forcefulness and artistry. The Società Editrice Internazionale awarded Milly Dandolo a prize of 10,000 lire for her book *Cuori in cammino* (Turin), a novel for youths. It is a work along simple lines, as is to be expected, not excluding, however, moments of life, poignant and inspiring. We watch admiringly a youth assuming responsibility of manhood in the short episode of an adventure. The gravity of a situation brings about this metamorphosis.

SHORT STORY—Luigi Tonelli who devotes most of his time to criticism and studies in literature found time to assemble a book of short stories in *Felicità perdute* (Lanciano). The themes, in cursory style, are varied and flexibly handled. In spite of an apparent note of pleasantness the undercurrent borders on the seriousness of life, and, sometimes, on its futility. The publishing house of Alberto Stock of Rome launched a series of "Romanzini Brevi", long-short stories gotten up in attractive jackets. Among the first batch we had Massimo Bontempelli's *Mia vita morte e miracoli*, in which the author sets aside his paradoxical mood and jots down in story form a few phases of his own life. These pseudo-autobiographical sketches reveal Bontempelli in a happy and facetious mood. He is not here the super stylist, nor the juggler of ideas and whims. The jest interwoven in the narration discloses seasonable observation. In this series we had also Lucio D'Ambra's *Storia di "Monsieur le vent,"* which is the story of the weak-willed Mr. Furious Wind in a cosmopolitan setting. The adventures provide several hours of pleasant reading. The book as a whole, we feel, if it does not subtract from D'Ambra's reputation, adds nothing to it. From our canton Ticino poet, Francesco Chiesa, we had a collection of stories in *Compagni di viaggio (Traveling Companions)* (Milan). Chiesa, it may be recalled, left a deep impression in Italy through his recent novel *Villadonna*. The prose work which he has been issuing of late, is all characterized by a sincerity of purpose which cannot escape the reader: it portrays life with sobriety and gravity. And

if his creation lacks imagination on a broad canvass, it makes up amply its deficit with an emotional and poetic quality delicately worked in. Chiesa is now interested in painting life with its detailed sensibilities. As a critic has recently stated, it seems that as the years go by Chiesa abandons the tools of the professional writer to stoop to "the humblest reality of our daily life."

**THEATRE**—In view of the paucity of plays, published or staged, the theatrical season was rather quiet. In fact, it was disappointing when we consider the liveliness of the previous season,—a season crowned with three Pirandellian successes. Looking over the field at random, the first play that comes to our attention is *Fuorimoda* (*Out of Style*), by Sabatino Lopez in conjunction with Eligio Possenti. Staged successfully, it was principally a vehicle to furnish the stellar actor, Ermete Zaconi, a character sketch of some importance. Sabatino Lopez, too, assembled a group of one act plays in *Le bianche e le nere* (Milan),—six plays thin in literary values but strong in stagecraft. The plays draw vitality from elemental parts: movement, dialogue, fun, repartee. A historical drama in verse was furnished by V. Schilirò in *Il Carroccio, dramma milanese* (Bronte). It revolves about the battle of Legnano in which Frederick Barbarossa incurred a severe defeat at the hands of the Lombards. We can say for the author that there are moments of beauty both in situation and in versification. Yet, we feel that the genre has passed out of style. Sem Benelli gave us two plays in one volume, *Eroi* and *Madre Regina* (Milan). *Eroi*, a war-drama sketches the fortitude of the private Bonacchi, representative of thousands of others from all lands and all creeds. *Madre Regina* is a play depicting a revolution (Russia) and glorifying the inviolability of mother love. All else may collapse except this immortal instinct of love. A satire on present day society was offered by G. A. Traversi-Grismondi in *Le sale di Augia* (*Augean Drawing Rooms*; Milan). The play has a feature in the way of a prologue touching upon the prevalent immoral or amoral social conduct. At this moment, may we call attention to Samuel Putnam's English translation of Luigi Pirandello's play *Come tu mi vuoi, As You Desire Me* (New York). We like the translation far more than the New York stage production of recent date. (For a discussion of the Italian version of this play and the two preceding ones see THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1931, Nos. I and III respectively.)

**POETRY**—Two books of verse stood out among the rest. These were contributed by Ada Negri and Francesco Pastonchi, both poets of long-standing. In Italy, Ada Negri occupies a place in poetry comparable with that occupied by Grazia Deledda in prose. Her verses are collected in *Vespertina* (Milan), whereas Pastonchi's volume is entitled *I versetti*. For a more detailed discussion of these works see THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1931, pp. 258-259. Two small but decorous volumes of poetry appeared in Giulio Preda's "Collection of Poetry". The first was Riccardo Balsamo Crivelli's *Cammin lungo* (Milan), poems in a versatile vein. In addition to poems in satire and burlesque, there are several sketches with a dramatic touch, one *The Poem of Jesus*, and the other, *The Fable of Calugino*. Composed along simple lines, the poems are enjoyable for their assimilable subject matter. Giuseppe Ungaretti's *L'Allegria*, on the other hand, offers a more difficult task in fathoming the author's ideas. (See THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, 1931, No. 4, p. 349).

**CRITICISM AND VARIA**—Among other studies, mention should be made of Benedetto Croce's *Introduction to a History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Bari, 90 pp.), and the series known as "Collezione Scientifica del Novecento," both of which have been discussed in these columns heretofore (*Ibid.*, pp. 349-350).

Then, there was an abundance of biographical writing on D'Annunzio, the reason for which the chronicler was unable to explain. To conjecture would be beside the point; so let us merely say that two of the most important of these biographies are Angelo Sodini's *Ariel Armato* (Milan) and Federico Nardelli and Arthur Livingston's *Gabriel the Archangel, A Life of Gabriele D'Annunzio* (New York), both of which were analyzed in THE ROMANIC REVIEW last year (XXII, 1931, No. 3, p. 258).

And now, to record pêle-mêle a few works falling under no special category: first is Adriano Tilgher's *Work* (New York), translated masterfully from the Italian (*Homo Faber*, Rome, 1929) by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. It is an historical interpretation of *work* throughout the ages. For a résumé of Italian publications and literary activities during 1930, we had the year-books *L'Arci Libro* (Milan, 1931), and *Almanacco Letterario* (Bompiani, Milan). Both year-books are attractively gotten up with numerous illustrations, caricatures, facsimiles, and other features. The work of the splendid *Encyclopédia Italiana*, started several seasons ago by the Istituto Treccani, proceeded regularly with the issuance of the twelfth volume, in handsome morocco binding. The set will be completed by 1937. The editorship is under Giovanni Gentile and Tumminelli. We may also call attention to the splendid edition of all the works of D'Annunzio (*Tutte le opere di Gabriele D'Annunzio*; Milan), undertaken in 1926 by governmental decree. Over a score of volumes have already been published. This completes about half the task. *Chi è?* (Rome), the Italian *Who's Who?*, has been revised and enlarged; and let us hope errors in omission minimized. The "Alpes" series on Italian men of genius "Itala Gente dalle molte Vite", biographies and studies, handsomely and artistically gotten up, put out its thirtieth volume on *Carpaccio*, by Dario de Tuoni. Under the same series Papini is preparing *Michelangelo* and Dino Provenzal, *Boccaccio*. Guido Mengozzi's studies on the early medieval Italian towns (*La città italiana nell' alto medio Evo—Il Periodo Langobardo-Franco*) was revised and augmented by Arrigo Solmi under the series, "Italian Historical Documents" issued by "La Nuova Italia", publishers of Florence. In "21 + 26" (Rome), Alfredo Casella presents a technical study on music with a chapter defining Italy's place in European music. Lastly, but certainly not least in importance, let us call attention to Joan Redfern's translation of Francesco De Sanctis's monumental *History of Italian Literature* (New York), containing an introduction by Benedetto Croce. Long indispensable to the Italian scholar, this translation is destined to render adequate service to the English speaking public.

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#### RUMANIAN CULTURAL NOTES

**THE THEATRE**—PROF. N. IORGA, whose heavy duties as Premier of Rumania do not interfere with his customary prodigious scientific, literary and

educational activities, was warmly acclaimed by an enthusiastic audience, Feb. 1st, on the occasion of the production of his latest five-act drama *O ultimă rază* (A Last Ray) and one act play *Zidirea Mănăstirii din Argeș* (The Building of the Monastery of Argeș), presented by the Bucharest National Theatre. A *Last Ray* is the story of Master Duccio, famous ikon artist of Siena, and his rejuvenating love for his model, Grazzia. As soon as the masterpiece is finished and taken to the church, love fades and the artist remains alone, old, and unhappy, facing the wondering and unfortunate Grazzia. The one act play rectifies the legend of the master builder Manole, who walled in his wife to save the monastery from crumbling. Instead of the human sacrifice, Professor Iorga injects the sacrifice of a treasure which Princess Despina donates for the purpose.

**RELATIONS WITH FRANCE**—MR. I. G. DUCA, leader of the Liberal Party and former Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior, himself a subtle orator, characterized the elocution of the eight statesmen whom he heard and saw in action: the Frenchmen Waldeck-Rousseau, Jean Jaurès, René Viviani, Aristide Briand; and the Rumanians Petre Carp, Titu Maiorescu, Take Ionescu, Alexandru Djuvara. The lecture was given on Jan. 14 before the Bucharest Rumanian-Jewish club "Libertatea." Mr. Duca created living pictures of the men whose oratorical successes he witnessed. It is interesting to quote the following from his lecture:

"For a long time I have been under the conviction, which unfortunately is daily verified, that oratory is disappearing. It can no longer resist the mortal and concentric blows of stenography on the one hand, and of the phonograph and radio on the other. To be an orator means to capture the soul of the listeners, to establish instinctively between him and the audience that secret communion which allows him later to master those people, convince, move to tears, and elevate them to delirium. The orator does not impose himself so much by the power of the word and splendor of form, as by a complex of elements, surroundings, gestures, carriage, voice, imponderables. Today one does not, one cannot talk facing the people. One addresses the loud-speakers when, without being seen, one is rendered deformed and strident. One utters remarks for the press which registers only the cold letter. One speaks with an impetus broken at each step by the implacable control of the unpardonable stenographic reports. This may be verbal communication. This can no longer be oratory."—PROF. I. PETROVICI, former Minister of Education and a delegate of Rumania to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, lectured on Jan. 27 on "Nationality in Philosophy," and on Jan. 28 on "Reflections on Popularity," at the Sorbonne. A reception in his honor took place on Jan. 26, organized by the committee of "Rapprochement universitaire" under the presidency of Prof. Albert Rey.—L'ACTION FRANÇAISE of Jan. 28, under the signature of Léon Daudet, relates of the evolution of the French language within the short space of time between Rabelais and Montaigne. M. Daudet mentions the work of Lazare Sainéan, the Rumanian scholar, whom he calls "the greatest erudite of the language and syntax of the Renaissance."—TUDOR TEODORESCU-BRANIȘTE spoke on "Aristide Briand," on Jan. 23, at the Popular University of Bucharest. Teodorescu-Braniste is an eminent publicist and writer.—ION PILLAT, the poet of perfect and calm art, gave a lecture on "Valéry, Rilke and Pure Poetry," on Jan. 30,

at the Foundation Carol I, under the auspices of the Rumanian "Cercle des Annales."

RELATIONS WITH BELGIUM—Mme HÉLÈNE VACARESCO spoke about the "Spiritual Forces in Rumania" on Feb. 19 at the University of the *Annales* in Brussels. The French Ambassador and the Rumanian Minister to Belgium were present.

RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES—THE BUCHAREST SOCIETY OF FRIENDS OF THE UNITED STATES conducted recently the following series of lectures on the general topic "Americanism and Europeanism:" Princess Alexandrina Cantacuzino opened the series on Jan. 16 with her "Various Aspects of American Life and Culture"; Prof. Nicolae Petrescu's subject on Jan. 22 was "Social Organization in The United States"; George I. G. Duca, of the Rumanian Legation at Washington, D. C., gave on Jan. 29 his reactions on "The Young Man's Debut in America and Europe"; on Feb. 5 Prof. Gr. T. Popa, of the University of Jassy, dwelt on "The Scientific Mind in America and Europe"; on Feb. 12 Petru Comarnescu spoke on "American and European Cultures"; and on Feb. 19 Richard Hillard on "European and American Pacifism." On Feb. 22 the Society celebrated the Washington Bicentenary at the Atheneum. King Carol II and Queen Marie of Rumania attended. Prof. Iorga paid a glowing tribute to the founder of the United States. We mention with satisfaction that the Society of Friends of the United States was established in 1926 on the initiative of the present writer, who delivered the inaugural lecture, and with the help of Dr. N. Lupu, leader of the Peasant Party and former Minister of the Interior, Labor and Education, and Mr. I. G. Duca, then Minister of Foreign Affairs.—PROF. T. W. RIKER, of the University of Texas, published recently in London *The Making of Rumania*. The Bucharest daily *Adevărul* of Jan. 23 greeted the work of the American scholar and translated the review from the London *Times* of Jan. 8.—PROF. IORGА in his daily *Neamul Românesc* takes issue with those who consider the waiting on table by students a national disgrace. "In America," states Prof. Iorga, "the girls full of life and the desire to learn, who follow the lectures so attentively, are the same who, an hour earlier, served their customers like any waitress in the university restaurants."

RELATIONS WITH GERMANY—THE RUMANIAN ASSOCIATION "POESIS" consecrated a series of five lectures to the commemoration of the Goethe Centenary. The first lecture was given on Jan. 26 by Prof. Ion Sân Giorgiu on "The Personality of Goethe," at the Foundation Carol I. On Feb. 2 Ion Simionescu spoke on "Goethe Facing the Universe"; Feb. 9 Prof. Dragoș Protopopescu on "Goethe and the European Mind"; Feb. 16 Prof. Tudor Vianu on "Goethe and Our Times"; and Feb. 23 Ion Marin Sadoveanu on "Goethe and the World as a Theatre."

RELATIONS WITH ITALY—ON FEB. 27, at the inaugural meeting of the Italo-Rumanian Cultural Union of Milan, Prof. Noemi Carelli spoke about the Italo-Rumanian relations in the works of Prof. Claudiu Isopescu. The Union was established under the auspices of the Institute "Nuova Vita," the Rumanian Consulate and the Chamber of Commerce of Milan. Prof. Luigi Orsini is president.

RELATIONS WITH POLAND—ON THE OCCASION of the visit to Poznan by Mr. Bilciurescu, Minister of Rumania to Poland, when a concert of Rumanian compositions was given, the newspaper *Dziennik Poznanski* writes:

"When Prince D. Ghica, the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Poland, we had the pleasure of showing in these columns the cordiality of the collaboration of Poland and Rumania in the political, economic, and international fields. The relations between these neighboring countries are based upon reciprocal trust and a close and sincere co-operation. The concert of Rumanian music is being organized by the Poznan Polish-Rumanian Society, whose existence in the Przenizl city is the best proof that here at the Western frontiers of Poland we understand and appreciate the importance of the Rumanian-Polish collaboration. The Polish society salutes today with all its heart the representative of Rumania."—AN ANTHOLOGY of contemporary Rumanian poetry was published in Poland by Emil Zegadlowicz (*Tematy Rumunskie*, Poznan, 1931). The book is being shown much attention and Zenon Alexandrowicz consecrates to it an article entitled "Literary Alliance with Rumania," in *Slovo Polskie*.—THE WARSAW publishers Debethner and Wolf issued a translation of Liviu Rebreanu's novel *Ion* by Dr. Stanislav Lukasik, Prof. of Rumanian Language and Literature at the University of Cracow. Dr. Lukasik also translated *The Forest of the Hanged* by the same author, *Intunecare* (Darkening) by Ceza Petrescu, as well as a collection of Rumanian plays.—ION DRAGU spoke about "Poland, Element of Order in the New Europe" before the Society of Foreign Politics, March 2, at the Bucharest Foundation Carol I.

RELATIONS WITH HUNGARY—DR. OCTAVIAN GOGA, the poet and statesman, finished his translation of the *Tragedy of Man* by the Hungarian writer Madach. The dramatic poem will be produced by the Bucharest National Theatre.

LITERARY BREVITIES—PROF. CONST. STERE has published his first novel in two volumes *In preajma revoluției* (On the Eve of the Revolution): *Smaragda Theodorovna* and *Copilăria și adolescента lui Vania Răutu* (The Childhood and Adolescence of Vania Răutu). This debut of the aged statesman and scholar was hailed as a revelation by critics.—GALA GALACTION also published recently his *Papuciile lui Mahmund* (Mohammed's Slippers). Both the above novels were issued by the *Adevărul* publishing house.—TUDOR ARGHEZI issued *Cartea cu jucării* (The Book with Toys) in which the brilliant style of the poet is again manifest.—LIVIU REBREANU, whose works were translated into several languages, including the English, has just finished a new novel of peasant life *Răscoala* (The Revolt).—MIHAIL SADOVEANU, the Moldavian novelist and prose writer, was elected President of the Rumanian Senate. In spite of this solemn dignity, Sadoveanu continues to create his masterpieces. Yet his latest public literary appearance is as a lecturer, speaking on "The Child."—RADU D. ROSETTI's volume of reminiscences *Eri* (Yesterday) is now in its third printing. In it, Rosetti tells of his meetings and friendships with artists, writers and statesmen of the immediate past.—I. A. BASSARABESCU, an author of note, was celebrated on Feb. 7 by his friends and colleagues. A dinner in his honor in Ploiești, and other functions marked the event.—M. SCHWEIG'S *Fapte și idei* (Facts and Ideas) is a collection of interesting essays on Adolphe Crémieux, Abraham Gold-

faden and other Jewish subjects.—L. LEONEANU, a young writer, makes his debut with the novel *Dorina*, published by *Adevărul*.

POETRY—EUGEN IONESCU with his *Elegii pentru ființe mici* (Elegies for Small Beings) wins the parsimonious praise of Șerban Cioculescu in the Bucharest *Adevărul* of Feb. 27. We submit this translation of the poet's *Ball*:

Couples jump  
To an old tune,  
Very old,  
O, very old.  
They move nicely  
(One, two, three)  
Their knees  
Without joints.  
How they turn  
Slowly,  
When one hears  
A little bell!  
They touch  
Their arm-pits  
And smile  
Four times.  
When some shock  
At random  
Interrupts  
The clever dance:  
They stop their trot  
And shake their heads,  
And shake their heads . . .

For such wee manikins this is a very clever performance, indeed.

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#### BELGIAN LITERATURE: THE MODERN BELGIAN NOVEL

B. M. Woodbridge, *Le Roman Belge contemporain. Charles de Coster, Camille Lemonnier, Georges Eekhoud, Eugène Demolder, Georges Virrès. Préface de Maurice Wilmotte*. Brussels, La Renaissance du Livre, 1930, XXI + 214 pp.

It is tragic,—and somewhat ludicrous,—to know that men of genius, anxiously searching for a mind that responds to theirs, may pass by one another like blind beggars—and with a wall of darkness forever between them. No one could have been more lonely than Baudelaire in Belgium in 1864-66 and no one has more unjustly cursed his surroundings as responsible for his misery and loneliness. An inexorable disease had been undermining him for years, and his sojourn in Belgium ended when he was stricken with paralysis. Yet he had a strange, an unreasonable expectation that in Belgium, in his declining years, he would be able to accomplish what he could never do in France: he wanted to

gather enough money there to pay off his forever accumulating debts. But his "guignon," his ill luck, pursued this "grand incompres" in Belgium as in France, and none of his expectations was fulfilled,—not even his dream of being acclaimed by the Belgians at least as loudly as such a mountebank as Alexandre Dumas or such a thundering bassoon-voice as Victor Hugo! In his disillusion he decried the Belgium of the sixties as a cultural Beotia, where, notwithstanding its glorious past, no art and no literature could ever flourish.

And yet, in Brussels, he must have known Charles de Coster, who already in 1856 collaborated to the *Uylenspiegel*, a paper founded by Félicien Rops, Baudelaire's faithful friend and illustrator. In 1857, de Coster had published his *Légendes Flamandes*, and at the very time of Baudelaire's sojourn, he was composing his now world-famous *Légende d'Uylenspiegel et de Lamme Goedzak* (1868), which appeared with illustrations by Rops. And Baudelaire did meet in Brussels, at one of his unsuccessful public lectures, another friend of Rops,—the young Camille Lemonnier who published his early art criticism in 1863, and was destined to become the principal novelist of the Belgian naturalist group. He must have read some of the poetry of the Belgian "modernists" of that time, who dedicated odes to industry, progress, railroads, steamboats, and universal fraternization,—T. Weustenraad's *Poésies lyriques* (1848), or A. Van Hasselt's *Poèmes, Paraboles, Odes* (1862). But he, (a so human poet), must have disliked them mainly because of their humanitarian tendencies. These they shared with Maxime Du Camp's *Les Chants modernes* (1855), against whose "progressive" tenets he had protested. Yet he could have known other Belgian poetry of romantic-spiritualist content, such as Octave Pirmez's *Les Feuillées* (1862). And if he had been even vaguely aware of the rebirth of Flemish literature, he would have learned that a simple curate who was a great and original poet, Guido Gezelle, had been writing for twenty years. . . . But if they had met, they would have passed by each other like blind men—the one with his torment and his self-devouring heart; the other with the clarity of his child-like soul in his ecstatic eyes—without understanding that they both, the Sinner and the Saint, were God-gifted poets, brothers separated by this netherworld, with a wall of darkness between them, but fraternally united before Infinity. . .

Or, at least, Baudelaire might have heard of the popular writings of Henri Conscience, whose works were then being translated from the Flemish into most European languages. But he was ill, blindly revengeful, hitting fitfully at the circle of darkness that crept closer day by day. His misadventures in Brussels became, in his tortured mind, the symbol of his unceasing and losing struggle against an evil fate and persistent misunderstanding. And he did not know that near to him both Gezelle and de Coster were struggling against the same misunderstanding. Anxiously searching, they passed one another like blind beggars to whom the alms of human sympathy were refused,—and they did not know.

\* \* \*

Late glory has come to them. The centenaries of the birth of both Charles de Coster and of Guido Gezelle have been recently celebrated with official solemnity. Studies on both of them are piling up. Their renown is rapidly expanding into an international fame that may recall that of Maeterlinck and

Verhaeren. Professor Woodbridge has devoted the first essay in his *Le Roman Belge Contemporain* to Charles de Coster, and he has given full value to his epic novel of the Flemish past, *La Légende d'Uylenspiegel*: "Son épopee de la Flandre semble destinée à prendre un rang de plus en plus élevé dans la littérature mondiale d'imagination." He glides over de Coster's minor works to concentrate on his principal achievement, of which he brings a finely discriminating study which is welcome even after J. Hanse's extensive *Charles de Coster* (1928). He stresses,—and, in a measure, with justification,—that Uylenspiegel is a kind of philosophic *pícaro*, who "par le monde ainsi se promènera, louant choses belles et bonnes et se gaussant de sottise à pleine gueule." Yet, Uylenspiegel is also a tragic *pícaro*, pathetic in his self-sacrifice to save the martyrs of the Inquisition, the hunted lovers of freedom of thought and religion; he is the indomitable insurrectionist who struggled for decades against Spanish supremacy. On his breast, he carries the ashes of his father, burned at the stake: ". . . Les cendres de Claes battent sur ma poitrine. Je veux sauver la terre de Flandre!"

From a purely literary point of view, de Coster's Uylenspiegel, I submit, is related to the Pagliaccio-type. His tragic jests show traces of the theme of "laughter-while-the-heart-withers." But he is a far superior incarnation of this type than the popular theatrical one with which we are more familiar. His Rabelaisian exuberance, covering up a poignant drama, evolves on an epic but not on a domestic-sentimental scale. And notwithstanding the general similarity of the theme and the type, he remains far superior to the clown-in-tears;—superior because of his epic proportions and his symbolic significance as a suffering man among his suffering brothers struggling in mad despair towards freedom, in the glare of flaming stakes and burning cities, while the roads echo darkly with the gallop of the riders of death. And, in his robust violence, he has very little in common with the more modern versions of the Suffering Jester theme, which have now become almost literary conventions:—the gay agony of the intellectual nihilist, or even the smiling dejection of a member of one of these successive "younger generations" whose "disillusion" is said to be assuaged only by the din of the dance and the fumes of heady wines. I have indicated here briefly some variations on the fundamental theme of the Suffering Jester, mainly to mark how superbly free de Coster has been within that convention.

No doubt, Uylenspiegel belongs in general to the immortal race of the *pícaros*,—but in him the Suffering Jester is combined with features of the "romantic bandit", that dispenser of popular justice and defender of the poor and the oppressed. Yet, can his literary affinities explain him sufficiently? We should not forget that Uylenspiegel was also self-symbol of de Coster,—a projection of his own struggle for freedom of thought into legendary history. Again, there is in *Uylenspiegel* a kinship with Peter Breughel, that tragic Flemish ironist in whose paintings (as for example, "The Massacre of the Innocents") an underground of hidden pity and bitterness lies behind apparent jovial exuberance. (Cf. J. Muls, *P. Breugel*, 1924, ch. V). It is, perhaps, through Breughel that Uylenspiegel should be approached,—if we want to understand his deeper self. In his revolt there flames up some of the secular bitterness of his down-trodden people,—who had become the prey of oppressors. The ashes of

his father smouldering on his breast, he dances through the tragedy of his murdered brothers; but at last he clamors his song of revenge and resurrection, and his laughter is supreme defiance of tyrants and enemies and fate.

\* \* \*

Uylenspiegel was a tragic rebel, a romantic revolter,—greater in his defeat and defiance than his conquerors. The Flemish romantic literature was overfond of celebrating among the historical characters of Flanders exactly those who were rebels against their lords and kings. The very popular *Lion of Flanders* of Henri Conscience sings the praises of the butcher Breydel and the weaver De Coninck, who triumphed over the French nobility at the battle of the Golden Spurs (1302); and the revolters Jacob van Artevelde, Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, the Counts Egmont and van Horn have been definitely elevated to the status of national heroes. And this is not merely a phenomenon of romantic literature. The realists, Georges Eekhoud or Camille Lemonnier, have also glorified the rebel—though rarely the historic rebel—with almost the same fervor as any of their romantic predecessors. Their "realism" remained deeply tinged with revolt and a vague Russian evangelical spirit. For instance, Wildman (who is a self-portrait of Lemonnier), declares: ". . . Je demeurai fidèle à ma race, au coin de terre où avant moi avait battu le cœur des hommes sauvages de mon ascendance. . . L'âme forcenée, sensuelle, bouffonne, religieuse et simple de mes plaines natales me gonfla." He had celebrated ". . . L'homme libéré des servitudes sociales et vivant de ses puissances personnelles, sans l'aide des codes, des religions, des morales professées. C'était cela, l'évangile nouveau. . ." (*Les deux Consciences*, 1902). And his *Un Mâle* (1881) is an enraptured hymn to the free life in the forest. This poacher is the symbol of the Woods in his identification with its ever-flowering and irrepressible vitality. Georges Eekhoud returned to the historic rebel in his *Les Libertins d'Anvers*, a glorification of Tanchelm, the heretic apostle of free life in the twelfth century. In his *Kermesses* or in his *Nouvelle Carthage*, he sings the praise of the glorious pariahs, of the instinctive anarchists, of "ceux de la glèbe" and of the docks and quais, or of the streets of misery,—of all those shunned by the smug bourgeois patricians to whom Eekhoud himself belonged. His constantly recurring hero resembles Jacques la Veine who, despising money, ". . . vagabonda, apostolique, préchant l'amour, la vie libre, la tolérance, la compréhension. . ." Full of supreme charity, he predicted: ". . . des temps nouveaux, sans lois, sans gendarmes, sans soldats et sans prêtres, sans tous ces obstacles impies, apportés à l'expansion naturelle et particulière de chaque être." Revolt sweeps through his work; but it is not the social, not the class revolt of Zola; it is the revolt of strong-living and ardent individuals, profoundly simple and direct, who do not grasp the meaning of social complexities and artificial restraints. With those Eekhoud, the son of the refined bourgeoisie, entered into spiritual communion: one of his books is entitled *Mes Communions*. No doubt he idealized his "glorious outlaws" and endowed them with too lyric and apostolic a vitalistic fervor! Literature in Flemish brings numerous parallels of this predilection for the oppressed, or for the ardent free soul, or for the Dionysian reverer of life, exulting in its bounty. Such a one is, for instance, Felix Timmermans' well-known

*Pallieter*, whose adventures have been recently translated into most European languages.

This many-phased "individualism" constitutes a well-defined tradition in Belgian literature, and one that in its realistic violence, contrasts sharply with the mystic strain represented, for instance, by Maeterlinck's meekly submissive prayer-book, *Le Trésor des Humbles*, or the melancholic *Bruges-la-Morte* of Georges Rodenbach, haunting and motionless as the dark depths of dead canals.

To Camille Lemonnier and Georges Eekhoud, Dr. Woodbridge has devoted well-informed studies. They belong to the group of Flemish authors of French expression, who set out consciously to render the Flemish *milieu* in the French language adopted by their families for generations past. Not that they escaped the influences of international literature! Both the Russian novelists and the French naturalists served them as models, but they were combined with the ever-renewed inspiration from the Flemish painters: Hals, Rubens, Jordaens, Breughel, etc.<sup>1</sup> Literary transpositions of pictorial art are frequent enough in Belgian letters. Verhaeren's first volume, *Les Flamandes*, is largely a verbalization of the vivid and sensuous canvases of the Flemish Renaissance school: Maeterlinck's first novelette (dating from the time that he still signed himself *Mooris* instead of *Maurice*), is based on Breughel's painting, "The Massacre of the Innocents." Many poems of Van Lerberghe (*La Chanson d'Ève*), are luminous and musical transpositions from the Pre-Raphaelites. But no one has been so consistently and consciously a painter in words than Eugène Demolder, the son-in-law of Félicien Rops, whose plasticity would have been an everlasting joy to Gautier. Yet even Demolder has been outdone in Flemish, for instance, by Herman Teirlinck in *Sun*, a volume entirely devoted to the description of all the reverberations and changing illumination of sunlight playing over various objects. Verhaeren held that the modern French-Belgian literature represented largely a resurrection of the old Flemish masters, now reincarnated in colorful pages. Like Lemonnier, Eugène Demolder was an art critic,—his first volume was *Impressions d'Art*,—and at no time were painting and literature separated for him. To him one could apply his characterization of French-Belgian literature: "Cette littérature, en somme, exprime l'âme belge, avec ses mysticités et ses rusticités, avec ses rêveries nostalgiques et ses amours de ripaille, avec la tristesse des polders et la joyeuseté des kermesses. Elle a repris les traditions d'art de Memling aussi bien que celles de Teniers, celles de Jérôme Bosch aussi bien que celles de Jordaens."

Georges Virrés, to whom Dr. Woodbridge has also devoted a very informative study, has so tragic a vision of *La Glèbe* that his "realism" deviates as profoundly from reality as do the sweetly sentimental and idyllically joyful peasants of Henri Conscience. This darkly-etched peasantry,—victim of crime and degeneracy, clawing the ungrateful earth under a leaden sky of malediction,

<sup>1</sup> On the influence of the Naturalists, see the work of Gustave Vanwelkenhuyzen, *L'Influence du Naturalisme français en Belgique*, Brussels, 1930. The influence of the Russians and of Stirner remains to be studied.

and obsessed with a fear of witchcraft and ancestral superstitions,—is almost as conventional in its unrelieved life of misery as the lovable peasants of George Sand, dancing with clusters of flowers in their shepherd's hats. It belongs to a well-formed literary tradition of which, for instance, Verhaeren's tales are outstanding examples. The Flemish author, Cyrille Buysse, has also depicted in his numerous novels the harsh existence of those slaves of the earth, but with him their suffering springs from social circumstances, whereas with Virrées these primitives seem to suffer from an internal decomposition which breaks out in their acts of uncontrollable automatons. One of the drawbacks of some of these French-Belgian novelists is evidently that they see their heroes far too much from the outside. They belong, in general, to the sheltered bourgeoisie, a class which has but vague notions even of the language of the peasantry; and their lack of familiarity with the real plebs betrays itself either in their over-lyrical glorifications of the Flemish peasant as an instinctive anarchist, or in their over-darkened portrayal of him as an irresponsible primitive. There is a strong dose of "literature", of unconscious artificiality, in both these pictures!

Dr. Woodbridge has approached these novelists understandingly, and his presentation should be especially valuable to America, where except for Maeterlinck and Verhaeren, few of the Belgian authors are known at all intimately, even to those who have a special interest in French literature. His sympathetic perspicacity has allowed him to interpret the meaning and the overtones of these works, so significant for the culture of a country that lies "on the cross-roads of civilization".

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#### ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

A. Palacio Valdés, *José*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Exercises, and Vocabulary by J. W. Barlow, Illustrations by F. Marco, N. Y., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932, XXI + 319 pp.

*José* has remained the favorite Spanish class-text for decades. It combines the idyllic story of an undaunted love with a realistic setting in a fisher village; and thus it offers to the romantically inclined the touching narrative of love triumphant, and to the more realistically disposed, the sharply etched figures of an avaricious mother, of a florid-tongued schoolmaster, of a village fool, and of an "hidalgo" proud even in the midst of starvation. Its sentimentality is seasoned with its incisively realistic observation of actual people and actual customs; whereas its realism is sweetened by pathetic scenes of devotion. Its bitter portrayal of petty egotism is offset and glossed over by admiration for the hero's triumph over fate and man's maliciousness.

Yet its value as literature is not the sole reason for its established success as a class-text. Its language offers the desirable combination of literary Spanish and racy popular expressions. In fact, the Introduction points out that it contains over six hundred, or almost one-half, of the Keniston list of idioms of greatest frequency. This quality alone makes it invaluable for training in Spanish speech. Several of these features have been recognized since 1900, when it was first put at the disposal of the American student. Yet this new edition is

more than justified: its text is based, not on the original printing of 1885 as heretofore, but on the edition of the *Obras Completas* of 1921, thoroughly revised by the author himself. In this form, it introduces many significant modifications, over twelve hundred in number. They range from recasting of phrases, substitution of words, additions or omissions (sometimes even of sentences), to changes of spelling and punctuation. In general, this revision has effected a greater expressivity and precision in style. The thirty-six years which had elapsed from the first issue to the corrected edition, reveal how Palacio Valdés had evolved to a greater purity in diction, a finer distinction and an increased restraint in syntax, and a more careful orthography.

For example, the spelling has been changed in words which followed pronunciation too closely, to the more literary form: thus "oscuro" became "obscuro", "setiembre"—"septiembre", "Usté"—"Usted", and many more. Other words again, which had been separated, were joined in accordance with the more accepted modern usage: thus "donde quiera" was written "dondequiera", "sin vergüenza"—"sinvergüenza", etc. The opposite is also true for words which had been linked, as in "apesar" which became "a pesar". . . . More important as indicating stylistic preferences in their reviser, are the frequent substitutions of words: thus the unusual "las gentes", so difficult to justify in the early edition, becomes the more common "la gente"; or the more inclusive term "empeñada" was replaced by the more technical "hipotecada." The rather extensive substitutions of nouns may well help towards the differentiation of synonyms: "el crujido" was modified to "el crujir", "pollino"—"jumento", "adoratorio"—"oratorio". . . . Of particular interest are the variations in pronouns, since in the first edition but little exactitude seems to have been observed on this vexed point: in the present edition "dirigirla" is replaced by "dirigirle", "los animó" by "les invitó", etc. Changes in prepositions are equally instructive for the understanding of this perhaps least stable element of Spanish grammar. The much discussed distinction between "por" and "para", for example, is illustrated by such substitutions as "esfuerzos por dar la vuelta" to ". . . para dar la vuelta"; while other changes are also frequent: "disgusto de la joven" became ". . . para la joven; "por la vecindad"—"en la vecindad". . . . The verb changes indicate that the author wished mainly to add greater precision or use a more striking term: the colorless "dijo" was replaced by the more expressive "profirió", or at another occasion by "manifestó"; "contestó"—"expresó"; "quieres"—"pretendes". Sometimes Palacio Valdés has simplified, as when he changed "bueno fuera írselo recordando" to "bueno sería recordárselo". Where the teacher had been at a loss to explain convincingly the absence of the imperative in the sentence: "Oyes tú, cochino, . . . ¿ te he pedido algo a ti?",—the "oyes" was replaced by "oye". One might regret, on the other hand, the substitution of the suggestive idiom perhaps coined by the author: "dar un saleo" by the customary "dar un paseo"—with the meaning of "to take a ride." The recasting of a sentence which has been all too often a stumbling-block to the student comes as a very welcome modification: the involved "los acontecimientos pareció que justificaban este salto" had been simplified to "pareció que los acontecimientos justificaban este salto."

However, besides presenting thus an improved text, this class edition has been prepared with the needs of the student and teacher well in mind. In order to allow its readers to visualize the picturesque yet distant local setting, striking drawings have been included, based on actual photographs of the scenes and costumes described. In addition, there have been adopted many well-tried pedagogical devices. The text has been divided into forty-nine numbered divisions, each covering a complete incident wherever possible, thus facilitating logical assignments. On each of these divisions is based a group of carefully drawn-up exercises: a list of the idioms of greatest frequency according to the Keniston list, questions in Spanish, and finally themes—outlined in the earlier lessons—for short compositions to allow the student to exercise more individually his grasp of the language as well as to test his preparation. Moreover, the rather lengthy text has been shortened to more wieldy proportions by omitting passages unimportant for the plot. They are, however, available to the reader, since they have been printed in smaller type at the end of the book. In this way they offer an opportunity for sight translation or silent reading.

This rejuvenated edition of an old class-text will thus prove of real value. Since the only other complete text of *José* appeared thirty-two years ago, the present edition has had time to make use of new material, and to incorporate it, especially in its direct and pointed introduction. For Palacio Valdés had published some nine or ten volumes since the first appearance of *José* as a class-text, and estimates of his work and his message have had time to crystallize. This corrected text of a favorite reader introduced by a more complete survey of the author's accomplishment, has renovated a story long esteemed as excellently suited to the American class-room. The new scholarly teaching apparatus has adapted it still more to this purpose and has decidedly increased its pedagogical value.

*Five One-Act Spanish Plays*—Authorized Edition. [*Rosina es Frágil* by G. Martínez Sierra; *Encanto de una Hora* by J. Benavente; *Sin Palabras* by S. and J. Álvarez Quintero; *Cada Uno a lo Suyo* by M. Linares Rivas; *La Virgen del Mar* by Santiago Rusiñol, translated by G. Martínez Sierra.] Edited with Notes, Exercises, and Vocabulary by A. M. Brady and M. S. Husson, N. Y., The Century Co., [1932], XXII + 285 pp.

An entertaining and instructive variety is afforded by this volume of five contemporary one-act plays. Chosen for the interest which they never fail to arouse, they are, besides, representative of the dramatic contribution of outstanding Spanish playwrights of the last decades. In spite of their brevity, they synthesize aptly some of the main literary traits of their authors. They range from the humor and airy grace of *Sin Palabras* of the Quintero brothers,—in which the loquacious and spirited heroine is condemned to replace her mute little friend, and wins a fervent admirer in the very man she attempts to deceive,—to the more tragic *La Virgen del Mar* of the recently deceased Catalan modernist, Santiago Rusiñol,—which reveals the regenerating force of Faith in the humble and the sick, and pleads for life-giving Illusion as the panacea of man's misery. Between these two extremes we pass from the light-hearted gayety of Martínez Sierra's *Rosina es Frágil*, so fresh with its interweaving of open farce and delicate irony, all against a perfumed background of a rose gar-

den in summer; or through the wistful pathos that permeates the delicate, Hoffmannesque phantasy of Benavente's *Encanto de una Hora*, in which two porcelain statuettes relive in a fleeting hour the immemorial experiences of man. Or again, from this rather philosophic tableau we come to a sharper reality in Linares Rivas' *Cada Uno a lo Suyo*, a skillful skirmish between two egotisms,—humorous and pathetic at the same time,—in which both win by joining forces.

This anthology should thus be welcomed as a representative selection from among the most popular one-act plays of recent days, for all of them have stood the test of successful performance on school stages in America. Its stimulating variety will also introduce to the student, in a convenient form, some of the greatest modern Spanish dramatists, with a brief yet characteristic example of their art and achievement.

*Spanish Folktales*. Edited with Exercises, Notes and Vocabulary, by R. S. Boggas and N. B. Adams, N. Y., F. S. Crofts and Co., 1932, XVII + 161 pp.

This novel volume makes a departure in elementary reading. From the rich treasury of Spanish folklore, it borrows nineteen of its characteristic tales, ranging from humorous stories of the simple "bobo", as in the well-known student ruse, "Quien no te conozca que te compre", to fairy tales such as "El Pájaro de la Verdad", to allegorical-symbolic stories such as "Don Dinero y doña Fortuna", or to the folktales related under varied guises all over Europe, such as "La suegra del Diablo" or "Los tres Deseos." Two-thirds of those here presented are adopted from the collections of *Cuentos* which Fernán Caballero gathered from around the hearths of humble peasant women, and which she retold with the sure touch of the accomplished writer, yet without sacrificing any of their spirited flavor.

These tales, so fundamental for popular culture, reported from generation to generation, have not lost in vivacity through the centuries. They can boast of kinship with such world characters as Lazarillo de Tormes or Pedro de Urde-malas, who sprang from the same humble sources, and they show the same vitality today as when, in the earlier ages of Spanish literature, they constituted the medium for transmitting Oriental apogues and fables to the nations of the Western World. Told simply and swiftly, losing no time in explanations or descriptions, they lead from one interesting or amusing incident to another. The every-day vocabulary and homely expressions with which they are replete,—and which are fully stressed in the ample drill provided,—will acquaint the students with the living part of the Spanish language, instead of with the more rarified literary expressions of select authors.

Alain René Lesage, traducido al castellano por el Padre Isla, *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Direct-Method Exercises, and Vocabulary, by J. Cano and E. Goggio, N. Y., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1931, XV + 317 pp.

The eighteenth century in Spanish letters, which has been rather unkindly treated by class-text editors, has here come partly into its own. This classic offers the unique combination of a breath-taking novel of adventures tempered with a realistic delineation of types set in relief by bold caricature, and of customs,

deftly insinuated by satire. Its life story of a guileless youth, who through many bitter knocks learns worldly wisdom, narrates its hero's multicolored adventures in search of a livelihood. Beginning with a narrow escape from a soldier-brigand, he is duped by the gross swindle of an all too confidential innkeeper, and soon falls into the hands of a band of highway robbers from whose underground lair he manages to escape by ruse and daring, saving at the same time a high-placed lady whose companions had been plundered and slain by the thieves.

Amidst similar incidents, Gil Blas finds more or less temporary homes with many masters, who sit for merciless portraits. For example, the youth enters the household of the epicurean cleric, Cedillo, whose meals are the marvel of his undernourished servant: his devoted housekeeper serves him no less than a soup worthy of gracing the noblest table in Madrid, a "*fritada*" that would have revived a king's appetite, a partridge garnished with quails,—washed down with wine in a silver goblet (generously broad and deep),—followed by a dainty dessert. Similarly, Gil Blas enters the service of a quack, Doctor Sangredo, who, overnight, teaches him all there is to be known in medicine: that nature's only cure is bleeding and water-drinking, and this repeated until the patient succumbs or survives—most miraculously. As a result the undertakers and Doctor Sangredo reap a generous harvest of human souls, which is stopped only when the renowned rival, Doctor Cuchillo, who has a more incisive panacea to offer, wields his knife to prove the superiority of his formidable remedy. Another master, a nobleman, introduces him to the life of the fashionable fops, who sleep well into mid-day and spend the remaining hours in meticulous dressing, amorous conquests and idle boasts. However, Gil Blas only too soon loses his position, for the young lord is killed in a duel over a lady in whose name he had written to himself a most eloquent love missive. Unsuspectingly he had read this feigned letter in the presence of the jealous lover of the fair one, and this slight to his "*pundonor*" had to be washed away with blood.

All of these adventures of a "*mozo de muchos amos*" carry us straight back to that most unique and indigenous contribution of the Spanish Golden Age,—the picaresque novel. So exactly did the French author of *Gil Blas*,—Lesage,—catch the spirit and tonality of this glorious tradition, that he came to be considered only an adaptor of some lost Spanish original. To render unto Spain what he considered Spain's, the patriotic Jesuit, Padre Isla, translated this rogue autobiography into a Castilian so meticulously correct, yet in a style so easy-flowing and colloquial, that his translation is said by many to have improved even on the inimitable French original. Isla thus raised a lasting monument in eighteenth century letters,—one that, in spite of advancing years, remains stimulating for its movement, lively for its humor, and modern for its satire and for its profound portrayal of an eternally blundering and grotesque humanity.

Wisely enough, the editors of this class edition have here reproduced the original Spanish text of 1787, leaving it intact except for a few minor excisions which in no way interfere with the narrative. To increase its usefulness, they have added graded exercises which furnish a review of grammar and verbs. They have thus combined reading matter and grammar study, to make this

more irksome task an integral part of an interesting and unified lesson. The volume is to be commended for its attractive presentation of a work which should have a strong appeal to all students of Spanish for its subject, style, and historical significance.

J. L. Borgerhoff, *Nineteenth Century French Plays*, N. Y., The Century Co., [1931], 790 pp.

This weighty volume is a counterpart and continuation of Brenner and Goodyear's *Eighteenth Century French Plays*, which has already been used successfully for class work, outside reading and courses on the drama. Professor J. L. Borgerhoff has prefaced it with an interesting study on the evolution of the French stage from Casimir Delavigne to Claudel. He has selected nineteen representative plays, among which are found, of course, a number of old acquaintances,—*Hernani* and *Cyrano de Bergerac*, for example. But others are less generally read, notwithstanding their interest, as for instance, Balzac's *Mercadet*, Delavigne's *Marino Faliero*, or Picard's *Les Ricochets*. Even Pixérecourt, "le Corneille des Boulevards," is represented by his *Carlina ou l'Enfant du Mystère*. It gives a good idea of the *mélodrame* as a *genre*,—grandiloquent, mysterious and moralizing, tearful, silly and edifying,—*Le Monastère abandonné, ou la Malédiction paternelle*; *Le Château des Apennins, ou le Fantôme vivant*; *Valentine ou la Séduction*, etc. The Romantic-historic play is represented in Professor Borgerhoff's collection by Dumas' *Henri III et sa Cour*; the drama of thought by de Vigny's *Chatterton*; the psychological play by Curel's *L'Envers d'une Sainte*; the realistic "tranche de vie" by *Les Corbeaux*, and the social thesis play by *La Dame aux Camélias* and Brieux's *Les trois Filles de M. Dupont*. This collected volume is excellently balanced, and should give a thorough understanding of the evolution and diversity of the theatre in the nineteenth century, as well as a background for the modern stage.

P. O. Crowhurst, *Cassell's Dictionary of French Synonyms arranged in Groups* . . . , N. Y., Dodd, Mead and Co., 1931, VII + 207 pp.

This classified list of synonyms will be found very useful when used in conjunction with an English-French dictionary. It stresses the *nuances*, the shades of meaning between the various terms of related significance, whereas a dictionary only indicates these meanings in a general, and frequently puzzling, way. The verb "to lead", for instance, may be translated by *conduire*, *guider* and *mener*. But *conduire*, which refers to either beings or things, implies authority or control; "conduire une dame, un orchestre"; *guider*, only used in connection with persons, means to direct or show the way: "guidé par son intérêt"; *mener* means to be at the head of: "mener la danse". The volume lists 1130 cases of such distinctions between synonyms or apparent synonyms, and should be at the student's elbow, especially in classes of advanced composition.

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## THE TODD MEMORIAL VOLUMES

In 1926 the newly formed Association of Doctors of Philosophy of the Romance Department of Columbia University undertook, at the suggestion of three former pupils of the late Professor Henry Alfred Todd,—viz., Arthur Livingston, John D. Fitz-Gerald and J. L. Gerig—the collection, preparation and publication of a volume of scholarly studies in his memory. Since Professor Livingston found it impossible at that date, because of his multifarious literary activities, to devote what he felt to be a fair proportion of time to this work, a Committee was formed with his coöperation to supervise the large amount of business and editorial work necessitated by such an extensive undertaking. This Committee, under the able and efficient chairmanship of Dr. Caroline Ruutz-Rees, set out at once to make known its plans to all of the friends, admirers and former pupils of Professor Todd.

That the efforts of the Committee were in every way successful is now revealed in the publication of the two volumes entitled *Todd Memorial Volumes: Philological Studies*, edited by John D. Fitz-Gerald, Ph.D., Litt.D., and Pauline Taylor, Ph.D., New York, Columbia University Press, 1930,<sup>1</sup> xiv + 226 pp. and viii + 264 pp. Recently a meeting of the Doctors was held at the Maison Française, Columbia University, at which Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, after delivering a beautiful address on "Professor Todd, Scholar and Teacher", made to Mrs. Todd a formal presentation of the first copies of the work to come from the press.

As most of the contributors to the volumes are well-known to all Romance scholars, no further appreciation of their coöperation is necessary here: the high quality of their contributions as well as the spirit of sincerity in which they were conceived speak for themselves. Suffice it to say that the members of the Committee are unable to express fully to them, as well as to the subscribers to the volumes, their deep appreciation of their help. May the fact that the volumes are dedicated "to the memory of a beloved scholar" be their reward!

The first volume contains a portrait of Professor Todd (p. v); Preface (pp. IX-XI); Sonnet, by W. W. L. (p. 3); Henry Alfred Todd: His Life and Publications, by John D. Fitz-Gerald (pp. 5-20, containing a bibliography of 99 titles); and Tributes of Friends and Associates (pp. 21-34). The latter include those of John Bassett Moore, J. B. Clark, T. F. Crane (repr. from *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XVI, 3, 1925), F. M. Warren, J. L. Gerig (on Presentation of Professor Todd's Portrait to the French Institute in the United States, Nov. 6, 1926), Geo. D. Agnew, J. L. Gerig (repr. from *Columbia Alumni News* and *Language*, I, 1925), J. P. Wickersham Crawford (repr. from *Modern Language Journal*, 1925), Philippe de la Rochelle (repr. from the *Bulletin of the Institut des Etudes Françaises*, 2, 1925), A. Plottier, (repr. from *Le Moniteur Franco-Américain*, VI, 1925), D. S. Blondheim (repr. from *Modern Language Notes*, 40, 1925), Geo M. Bolling (repr. from *Language*, I, 1925), and D. S. Blondheim (repr. from *Romania*, liv, 1928).

<sup>1</sup> Though bearing the date of 1930, it was only in March, 1932, that the volumes became available to subscribers. This was due to unavoidable delays that happened to the printers.

Then follows a list of 40 contributions arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the authors. They are as follows: Vol. I—N. B. Adams, "The Grotesque" in *Some Important Spanish Romantic Plays* (p. 37); Joseph Anglade, "La Doctrine grammaticale et poétique du 'Gai Savoir'" (p. 47); W. A. Beardsley, "Priesthood and Religion in the Novels of Armando Palacio Valdés" (p. 59); D. S. Blondheim, "Livro de como se fazen as cores" (p. 71); Franz Boas, "Spanish Elements in Modern Nahuatl" (p. 85); Georges Cirot, "Nouvelles Observations sur 'Ser' et 'Estar'" (p. 91); D. K. Dodge, "Ingemann and Longfellow" (p. 123); C. Evangeline Farnham, "American Travellers in Spain" (p. 129); L. Feraru, "The First Rumanian Lyric Poet" (p. 141); J. D. Fitz-Gerald, "L'Etymologie du français 'Comment'" (p. 147); J. B. Fletcher, "Dante, Aeneas, Saint Paul" (p. 153); C. H. Grandgent, "Lo Bello Stilo" (p. 171); L. H. Gray, "Indo-European Linguistics as an Aid to Romance Etymology" (p. 185); H. C. Heaton, "On the Text of Lope de Vega's 'El Médico de su honra'" (p. 201); H. A. Holmes, "Julio Jiménez Rueda: Mexican Dramatist" (p. 211); and H. Kurz, "Manon Lescaut: A Study in Unchanging Critics" (p. 221); Vol. II—H. C. Lancaster, "Alexandre Hardy and Shakespeare" (p. 3); M. A. Luria, "Judeo-Spanish Dialects in New York City" (p. 7); C. A. Manning, "The Songs of Ivan the Terrible and His Sons" (p. 17); Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "Derivados españoles de 'Character'" (p. 25); A. D. Menut, "Velázquez's 'Infanta in Red' and the Theme of the Melancholy Princess" (p. 27); L. F. Mott, "A Political Allusion in Shakespeare's 'Richard III'" (p. 41); H. F. Muller, "Concerning the Origin of Some Dialectal Features of the Romance Languages" (p. 45); F. de Onís, "Notas sobre el dialecto de San Martín de Trevejo" (p. 63); Ruth S. Phelps, "Forms of Address in Petrarch's 'Canzoniere', and the *Fila Benedette*" (p. 71); Helen Phipps, "Notes on Medina Rico's 'Visita de Hacienda' to the Inquisition of Mexico" (p. 79); Pio Rajna, "Ricciardetto e Fiordispina" (p. 91); J. P. Rice, "An Italian 'Bestiaire d'Amour'" (p. 107); G. L. van Roosbroeck, "Two Unknown Deistic Poems of Voltaire" (p. 117); M. Rudwin, "Gérard's Germanic Fantasies" (p. 127); G. O. Russell, "International Research Symbols in Speech as in Chemistry" (p. 139); Caroline Ruutz-Rees, "A Glance at Some Renaissance Latin Literature" (p. 151); J. B. Segall, "Sovereign and Vassal in Corneille's Plays" (p. 165); W. P. Shepard, "Two Songs by Almeric de Peguilhan" (p. 181); L. E. V. Sylvania, "Realism in the Novels of Eça de Queiroz" (p. 193); Pauline Taylor, "The Vocabulary and Style of the 'Liber Historiae Francorum'" (p. 207); Dorothy Turville, "Italian Feminine Singular Nouns Derived from Latin Neuter Plurals" (p. 215); J. Van Horne, "The Urrea Translation of the 'Orlando Furioso'" (p. 217); F. Vexler, "Diderot and the 'Legons de Clavecin'" (p. 231); and F. M. Warren, "Cabanis, the Medical School, and French Realism" (pp. 251-4). The volume closes with a List of Subscribers (pp. 255-9) and Errata (pp. 261-4).

It is with profound sorrow that we note that four of the contributors—Professors Thomas Frederick Crane, Pio Rajna, Joseph Anglade and Frederick Morris Warren, all of whom were friends and colleagues of Professor Todd—passed away before the volumes appeared.

J. L. G.

## IN MEMORIAM: ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS

Elijah Clarence Hills, head of the Department of Romance Philology at the University of California, died on April 21 at his home in Berkeley, at the age of 64.

Professor Hills was born in Arlington, Ill., on July 2, 1867, the son of Elijah Justin and Mary Eleanor (Larkin) Hills. After having graduated at the Bingham School in North Carolina, he studied at Cornell University, where he received his A.B. degree in 1892, and later became Fellow in Romance Languages (1892-93). He passed the next two years (1893-94) in advanced work at the University of Paris, and, upon his return to the United States, he joined the faculty of Rollins College, where he was Professor of Modern Languages from 1896 to 1901. The following year he became Professor of Romance Languages at Colorado College, where he remained until 1918. In 1906, he was awarded the Ph.D. and Litt.D. degrees, the former by the University of Colorado and the latter by Rollins College. From 1916 to 1918 he served as Librarian of the Hispanic Society of America, which position he resigned in 1918 in order to become Professor of Romance Languages and head of the Department at Indiana University. In 1922 he went to the University of California as Professor of Spanish and was advanced, in 1924, to the Chair of Romance Philology, which position he held at the time of his death. Besides the above posts, Professor Hills was also Lecturer at Harvard in 1911-12, and taught in the Summer Sessions of the Universities of Wisconsin (1924) and Washington (1928).

Notwithstanding his unusually active academic life, Professor Hills was able to devote much time to the improvement of pedagogical methods in the modern language field. Consequently, in 1918 he was appointed General Editor of Romance Publications by D. C. Heath and Co., in which capacity his broad experience and sound critical judgment made itself felt in all parts of the American educational world.

Among the many honors conferred on him were those of Commander of the Royal Order of Queen Isabella, Corresponding Member of the Royal Spanish Academy and of the Spanish-American Academy of Sciences and Arts of Cadiz, and Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was also member of the following societies: Hispanic Society of America, American Association of University Professors, Modern Language Association of America, American Folk Lore Society (Vice-President, 1922), American Associations of Teachers of French, Spanish (President, 1924) and Italian, American Dialect Society, Modern Humanities Research Association, Société de Linguistique Romane, Linguistic Society of America, Instituto de las Españas, The National Arts Club of New York, and the Phi Beta Kappa and Beta Theta Pi fraternities.

His publications include: *De la Ortografía y Pronunciación inglesas*, 1900; *Maeterlinck's Dramatic Theory*, 1907; *The Speech of a Child Two Years of Age*, 1910; *The Pikes Peak Region in Song and Myth*, 1913; *The Quechua Drama Ollanta*, 1914; *Spanish-American Poets*, 1915; *Irregular Metres in Old Spanish, Anglo-Norman, Franco-Italian and Venetian Epic Poems*, 1925; *Spanish Patronymics in Z*, 1926; *The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*, 1927; *The*

*Metre of the Poem of the Cid*, 1927; as well as the following class texts, *Bardos Cubanos*, 1901; *Spanish Grammar*, 1904; *Spanish Tales for Beginners*, 1909; *Spanish Short Stories*, 1910; *Modern Spanish Lyrics*, 1913; *First Spanish Course*, 1917; *The Odes of Bello, Olmedo and Heredia*, 1919; *Fortuna and Zaragüeta*, 1920; *Cuentos y Leyendas*, 1922; *Portuguese Grammar*, 1925; *Contes Dramatiques*, 1927; *Spanish Grammar for Colleges*, 1928; *French Short Stories* (Anthology), 1929; and *Hispanic Studies*, a collection of his most important articles on Spanish subjects, published by the American Association of Teachers of Spanish (*Hispania Monographs*, I, 1929, viii + 298 pp.).

On June 22, 1898, Professor Hills was married to Metta Vergil Strough, of Clayton, N. Y., by whom he is survived, as well as by four children, three sons and a daughter.

The passing away of this able and friendly scholar and teacher is deeply mourned by all who enjoyed his acquaintance. His memory will, however, always glow with the radiance of his sympathetic personality.

J. L. G.

## VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—THE ROMANIC REVIEW has been invited to participate in the All Nations' Press Exhibition which is being held this year in Tiflis, Republic of Georgia. While the first International Press Exhibition, which was held at Cologne in 1928, displayed books and reviews in about 100 languages from 90 countries, the present Exhibition covers "181 different languages from 249 countries." After the close of the Exhibition the entire collection will be shown in "many other countries and cities".—ANDRÉ GIDE congratulated recently Dr. S. A. Rhodes on his article "Marcel Schwob and André Gide: a Literary Affinity", which appeared in THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXII, Jan.-Mch., 1931, pp. 28-37. He added that he had been surprised that no one in France had noted this relationship.—PEDRO VILLA FERNÁNDEZ, American representative of the Spanish Authors' Society, contributed to the *New York Times* of April 10 an article entitled "Maintaining an Old Spanish Custom", which recounts the history of the Guerrero-Mendoza theatrical company. Readers of the ROMANIC REVIEW recall with interest his contribution to the Oct.-Dec., 1931, issue (pp. 324-333) under the heading "*La Verdad Escurecida: A Hitherto Unknown Play by Antonio de Almeida*".—PRESIDENT F. B. ROBINSON, of the College of the City of New York, announced on April 3 that the College will inaugurate this summer a Language Institute to replace the Linguistic Institute which was organized in 1927 by the Linguistic Society of America. After meeting at Yale in 1928 and 1929 and at the City College in 1930 and 1931, the latter Institute was discontinued because of a lack of funds. The new Language Institute will offer, from June 30 to Aug. 11, approximately forty courses ranging from an introduction to linguistic science to advanced courses in ancient and modern languages and, according to the *New York Times* of April 3, "will have a faculty consisting of fourteen outstanding scholars".—VISITING PROFESSORS IN ROMANCE LANGUAGES, who conducted courses in American universities during the academic year 1931-32, included the following: Brown, Albert J. Farmer, Grenoble; California, Giuseppe

A. Borgese, Milan; Daniel Mornet, Paris; *Chicago*, Daniel Mornet; *Columbia*, Edmond Faral, Collège de France; Félix Gaiffe, Paris; Mario Casella, Florence; Piero Mischiatielli, Siena; *Harvard*, Pierre Martino, Algiers; *Northwestern*, Bernard Fay, Collège de France; *Princeton*, Fernand Baldensperger, Paris. The following will teach in *Cours d'Eté* of Middlebury College: Georges Ascoli, Paris, who will be Visiting Professor at Columbia, Spring Session, 1933; Mlle Nicolette Pernot, Institut de Phonétique, Paris; Pierre H. Chamaillard, Chargé de Cours, Bordeaux. Those engaged to teach in the 1932 Summer Session of Columbia are Denis Saurat, Professor of French in the University of London; Enrique Diez-Canedo, Director of the Escuela de Idiomas of Madrid; and Edouard Dambin of the Lycée Ampère of Lyons.—**RECTOR SÉBASTIEN CHARLÉTY**, of the University of Paris, was awarded on Feb. 17 the Litt.D. degree by New York University and on Feb. 29 the LL.D. degree by Columbia University. Dr. Charléty returned to Paris after a brief visit to this country.—**THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND** conferred the LL.D. degree on former Gov. Alfred E. Smith on Feb. 27 at a private dinner given by him to a small group of friends in the Empire State Club, New York. The diploma was presented by Prof. P. J. Lennox, of the Catholic University, Washington. The guests included, according to the *New York Times* of Feb. 28, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Professors J. L. Gerig and E. W. Tookey, the latter of the New York University Law School, former Justice Morgan J. O'Brien, Kenneth O'Brien, Brother Cashin of Manhattan College, former Justice Daniel F. Cohalan, Martin Conboy, lawyer, James J. Hoey, John Kenlon and James McGurkin, respectively President and Secretary General of the American Irish Historical Society, Timothy J. Mara, J. C. Walsh, Daniel T. Mooney, and Mr. Smith's two sons, and his son-in-law.—**PROF. JAMES GEDDES**, head of the Department of Romance Languages at Boston University, who was made Knight of the Crown of Italy in 1909, was promoted on March 21 to the rank of Officer of the same order, in recognition of his 26 years of service as President of the Circolo Italiano of Boston. Prof. J. S. Galland, head of the Romance Languages Department at Northwestern University, received on April 9 the decoration of Chevalier of the Legion of Honor.—**E. ALLISON PEERS**, Professor of Spanish at the University of Liverpool, gave during March and April the Centennial Lectures on Spanish Literature at Washington Square College, New York University. His twenty lectures were divided into two courses dealing with "Spanish Romanticism" and "Spain: Today and Tomorrow".—**THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN** announced on Feb. 13 the award of six fellowships for 1932-33. Some of the successful candidates were Dr. Francesca Bozza of the University of Naples, who won the A. A. U. W. International Fellowship; Lucille K. Delano, Instructor in Spanish at the University of Iowa, who won the Northwest Central Sectional Fellowship; and Pauline Gomez-Vega, of the National Institute of Hygiene, Bogotá Colombia, who won the Latin-American Fellowship.—**THE JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION** announced on March 14 the award of 57 fellowships with an annual stipend of \$2,500 each. Among those of interest to Romance scholars are the following: A. M. Dasburg, Santa Fe, N. M., contemporary fresco painting in Mexico; H. N. Cook, Granville, Mass., etching in Mexico; J. F. Dobie, Assoc. Prof. of English, University of Texas, collection of tales told by Mexicans in Northern Mexico; Dr. I. Goldberg, Roxbury, Mass.,

preparation of a history of the modern literature of Spanish and Portuguese America; Dr. A. Torres-Rioseco, Assoc. Prof. of Latin-American Literature, University of California, study of the Spanish-American novel; Dr. N. L. Torrey, Asst. Prof. of French, Yale, studies of the philosophy of Voltaire; and Dr. H. P. Vila, Instructor in Cuban History, University of Havana, studies in the historical relationship between Cuba and the United States.—THE COMMISSION FOR RELIEF IN BELGIUM announced on April 1, through its Educational Foundation, 42 Broadway, New York, the award of 20 Fellowships to Belgians for study in the United States and 6 Fellowships to Americans for study in Belgium. Among the latter are W. J. Marx, of the University of Washington, who will study the history and culture of Belgian towns; and C. J. M. Van de Wall, of New York, whose award to study primitive Flemish painting was renewed.—THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS announces the establishment of the E. D. Farmer Fellowships for an interchange of students between it and the National University of Mexico. The fund donated for this purpose will ultimately amount to \$210,000.—THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN MARCOS at Lima, Peru, will open next July a special four-weeks' session for students from northern countries. Besides courses on the Spanish language and Latin American literature, there will be a course on Peruvian archaeology given in English by Dr. J. C. Teilo, and one on Latin American affairs given, also in English, by Dr. V. A. Belaunde of the University of Miami, Florida.—THE SEMINAR IN MEXICO, which has been organized for the purpose of studying Mexican life and culture, will hold a three weeks' program (July 3-23) consisting of lectures, round table conferences and field trips. The latter will be made, in coöperation with Dr. F. Blom's round table on Archaeology, to Monte Alban, Puebla, Cuernavaca, Taxco, Oaxtepec, Xochimilco and Cuauhtla. Among the courses offered are the following: Arts and Crafts, by Count René d'Harnoncourt; History of Mexico, by Dr. C. W. Hackett; and Latin American Literature, by Miss Elizabeth Wallace.—THE UNIVERSITY OF GUADALAJARA, Mexico, will hold its first Summer Session from June 29 to Aug. 13.—A BRIEF GENERAL LIST OF BOOKS on Latin America has been compiled by Prof. A. C. Wilgus, of George Washington University, and Mr. J. T. Vance, of the American Library Association. Copies may be secured gratis from the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45 Street, New York.—THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE BLIND of London recently sought permission to translate into braille *The First Spanish Course*, by Professors E. C. Hills, of the University of California, and J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard. It is believed that this will be the first example of the translation of a Spanish-English text into braille.—THE CASA ITALIANA of Columbia University has appointed a professor at every University in Italy to serve as its representative, for the purpose of helping American professors and students in their studies or research work.—A NATIONAL CENTRE OF UNIVERSITY INFORMATION has been founded in Rome for the purpose of giving free assistance and facilities to foreign students who may wish to study in Italy.—THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS formally accepted on March 21 a bequest of \$50,000 made in the will of the late Mrs. Harriet H. Wooley of Chicago. The bequest is to be used to endow ten rooms in the American dormitory at the Cité Universitaire for winners of scholarships which had already been founded by Mrs. Wooley.—THE UNIVERSITY OF CAEN will celebrate its fifth centenary June 11-13. Dele-

gates from Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, and other American universities will be present. Dr. H. S. Krans will represent the American University Union.—THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY received, on Feb. 3, a bequest of \$2,000,000 from the will of the late Lewis Cass Ledyard, famous lawyer and former President of the Library. Mr. Ledyard also bequeathed \$250,000 to the Pierpont Morgan Library.—THE SARAH COOPER HEWITT MEMORIAL LIBRARY at Cooper Union, New York, was formally opened on Feb. 25. It contains books on art bequeathed by Miss Hewitt, as well as other rare works on art collected by the Museum of Arts and Decorations of Cooper Union. William M. Ivins, Jr., Curator of Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, stated that the Library constituted "the only collection on this side of the Atlantic of any considerable number of drawings by the great French masters of design of the 17th and 18th centuries".—COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY announced on March 27 the purchase of a rare MS entitled *Orationale Monialium Ordinis S. Benedicti Archidiocensis Neapolitanae*. This prayer book is in the Beneventan script which was developed in the monastery of Monte Cassino in Southern Italy—known in medieval times as "Benevento"—from the sixth to the fourteenth centuries. The MS, written on vellum, is one of a few that have been offered for sale in recent years.—THE LEWIS CARROLL EXHIBITION, prepared by Columbia University in honor of the 100th anniversary of the author's birth, was held during the month of April. Included among the 500 items on display were translations of *Alice in Wonderland* into French, German, Italian, Spanish, Gaelic, Chinese, Japanese, and Esperanto.—THE LOUVAIN LIBRARY, which was reconstructed by means of American donations, is now found to be too small to accommodate all readers wishing to use it, notwithstanding the fact that during its building the architect, Whitney Warren, was, according to the *New York Times* of April 3, "reproached for having created something much too big." Cinematographic records of the Library's famous manuscripts have been made and are now being loaned to other universities. While Louvain attracts many foreign students, the University of Brussels, which was rebuilt at Solbosch, also through American gifts, has become the centre for scientific research.—THE CENTRAL CATHOLIC LIBRARY of Dublin, one of the finest collections of Catholic books in the world, was destroyed by fire on March 9. More than 18,000 volumes were lost.—THE BULLETIN OF BIBLIOGRAPHY, published at Boston, contained, in its volume 15 (No. 6), a well-made bibliography of the works of Georges Eekhoud, the Belgian novelist. Two of his books have been issued in English translations, *The New Carthage* (*La nouvelle Carthage*; N. Y., 1917) and *Strange Love* (*Escal-Vigor*; N. Y., 1930). Several of his novelettes have also been translated into English and are to be found in periodicals or in such collections as *The Massacre of the Innocents and Other Tales by Belgian Writers* (Chicago, 1895).—THE BLICKLING HOMILIES, the Anglo-Saxon MS written in 971, which brought \$55,000 at the sale of the Marquess of Lothian's library, will go eventually, according to its purchaser, "to one of America's great institutions of learning". This very important example of Anglo-Saxon literature is said to be "the only Anglo-Saxon MS of any kind in the country". Boccaccio's *De la ruine des nobles hommes et femmes*, which was catalogued as "the most important early illustrated book ever sold at auction", and which brought \$45,000, will go eventually, according to its purchaser, "to one of America's

great museums". According to the *New York Times* of Feb. 2, "it is one of three known copies of the first dated book printed at Bruges, the first dated book from Colard Mansion's press, and the first dated book with copperplate illustrations".—A FRENCH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT of the 14th century, formerly in the library of the Marquess of Ailesbury, was sold for \$500 at the auction of the E. D. Adams library in New York on March 24.—L'ILLUSTRATION of Feb. 27 (pp. 258-9) contains the very interesting history and description, with several illustrations, of "Le Livre de Raison de Montaigne", by René Johannet. It consists of a diary-book entitled *Ephemeris historica* (Paris, François Gryphe, 1551), with a Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Christian calendar and notes. The blank spaces under each date are filled with important data relating to the Montaigne family, written with his usual carelessness by the great essayist himself. Some of the earlier pages, however, such as, e. g., the account of his birth, are in the handwriting of his father. Originally discovered in 1855 by Dr. Payen, this most valuable MS was again lost, and has only recently been re-discovered in a chest belonging to a descendant of the Montaigne family. On account of its wretched condition, it is hoped that some public library will purchase it so as to preserve what is left of the rat-eaten pages.—MAGGS BROTHERS, London booksellers, announced on April 11 that they had purchased one of the most precious manuscripts in existence, bearing the sign-manuals of William the Conqueror; Matilda, his Queen; Archbishop Lanfranc; Roger de Beaumont; and Robert de Beaumont. "The document", says the *New York Times* of April 12, "written in Latin on vellum about 1067 to 1075, provided for the granting of the church and endowed lands of St. Mary at Bury St. Edmunds by Walerand, County of Maulen, to St. Stephen's Church in Caen, Normandy. The MS remained for centuries in the Beaumont family.—THE BORGHESE FAMILY began, on Feb. 8, to transfer from its private collection 100,000 books and historic documents, dating back to the first century, to the Vatican Library. Other noted Italian houses have been doing the same during the past few years.—THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES announced on April 12 research and fellowship awards totalling \$60,000 for advancement of research in the humanities. Grants dealing with the Romance field were made to the following persons, with subjects of study included: Dr. Josephine de Boer, "Life of Guillaume Colletet"; W. O. Farnsworth, Assoc. Prof. of Romance Languages, Northwestern University, "Bibliography of Works on Morocco"; Jacob Hammer, Asst. Prof. of Classics, Hunter College, "Collating MSS of Geoffrey of Monmouth"; Fiske Kimball, Director of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, "Study of the Origins of the Louis XV Style"; J. T. Lanning, Instructor in History, Duke University, "Investigation of Hispano-American Colonial Universities"; I. A. Leonard, Asst. Prof. of Spanish, University of California, "Intellectual History of Colonial Spanish America"; Raphael Levy, Prof. of Foreign Languages, University of Baltimore, "An Edition of the Old French *Le Commencement de Sapience*, translated from the Hebrew of Abraham ibn Ezra"; Laurine E. Mack, Asst. Prof. of Art, Wellesley College, "Study of the Works of Antonio Rossellino"; C. Meredith-Jones, Instructor in French, University of Manitoba, "Study of the MSS of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*"; P. F. Saintonge, Asst. Prof. of Romance Languages, Mount Holyoke College, "Edition of the Memoirs of François Honorat de Beauvillier"; A. H. Schutz,

Asst. Prof. of Romance Languages, Ohio State University, "Editions of (1) the Lyrics of Daude de Prados and (2) the *Romans del Auzels Cassadors*"; Margaret B. Stillwell, Curator of the Annmary Brown Memorial Library of Incunabula, "Works in Connection with the Second Census of Fifteenth Century Books Owned in America"; C. Ward, Prof. of the History of Art, Oberlin College, "Study of the Development of Gothic Architecture in France"; F. M. Carey, Assoc. Prof. of Greek and Latin, University of California at Los Angeles, "Study of MSS from the Scriptoria of Fleury, Reims, and Saint-Denis"; and L. E. Dabney, Adjunct Prof. of Romance Languages, University of Texas, "History of French Drama during the Reign of Henri IV". Of the above, Dr. de Boer and Professors Schutz and Levy have been contributors to the ROMANIC REVIEW.—THE AMERICAN IONA SOCIETY announced on Feb. 19 the re-election of the following officers for the year 1932: Richard M. Montgomery, President; Dr. John H. Finley, Associate Editor of the *New York Times*, first Vice-President; J. L. Gerig, second Vice-President; Col. Alex. R. Fordyce, Jr., Secretary; and Vicomte H. H. de Frise, Treasurer. According to the *New York Times* of Feb. 20, "the society, which seeks to preserve Celtic culture and speech, is working to found a university at Inverness, in the Scottish Highlands".—A BRETON INSTITUTE was organized on March 9 by Prof. M. E. Guégen, of the Nantes Pharmacy School, in order to preserve the Breton language from extinction and to resurrect Breton folksongs, folkdances and folklore. According to the *New York Times* of March 10, "it is planned to have branches in every Breton town and village, and a program of regional fêtes will be staged." Likewise the Federation of Breton Societies announced from Rennes, on March 1, the organization of a movement to revive Breton lace work and hand embroidery. In 1899 there were still 30,000 women in Brittany who earned their living at the family fireside by making laces and embroidery, but the machine age has, since then, practically destroyed this famous native industry.—L'ASSOCIATION GUILLAUME BUDÉ held, from March 28 to April 2, an international congress at Nîmes, France. This association, which was founded in 1917 in the interest of classical culture in France, is divided into the following five sections: Philology; Art and Archaeology; International Scientific Relations; Education; the Humanities.—THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION of the League of Nations created recently an International Committee of Archivists which plans to publish an international guide to archives containing information on exchanges of palaeographic facsimiles, on the unification of the terminology of archives and on the interchanges of professors and lecturers among different institutions for the training of archivists. The Institute has also extended to archaeology and the history of art the methods of international coordination which it has already applied to national libraries, museums and archives, and an international centre for this purpose will be established.—THE GRAMMAIRE DE L'ACADEMIE FRANÇAISE, which has been in the course of preparation since the Academy was founded in 1634, was finally issued on April 6 under the authorship of Abel Hermant, Paul Valéry and Joseph Bédier. This small volume of 254 pages had been under steady discussion and revision by all the members of the Academy for more than two years. The authors modestly inform us at the outset, according to the *New York Times* of April 7, that "grammar is the art of speaking and writing correctly", but

they immediately disclaim any attempt to pronounce definitely on what is correct French by adding: "We can only record present usages". The publishers expect that the sales of the grammar, like that of the Academy's dictionary, will reach several million copies.—THE BELGIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES passed on March 2 the new language bill which divides Belgium into three sections for administrative purposes. In Wallonia only French will be used officially, in Flanders, Flemish, while the Brussels district will remain bilingual. The bill makes no provision for the German-speaking annexed districts of Eupen and Malmedy, since amendments to make German the third national language were rejected. According to measures voted last year all Belgium was bilingual for official purposes.—PRESIDENT ZAMORA of Spain signed on March 11 a decree which put into effect Article XLVIII of the Constitution prohibiting the teaching of religion in the State schools.—AUGUST ZALESKI, Polish Foreign Minister, proposed on March 21 the establishment, by governments favorable to the late Aristide Briand's peace policy, of scholarships in his memory in Geneva's School of International Studies. He said that Poland was willing to donate \$2,000 to such a fund. This school is now mainly supported by contributions from the United States, and Americans form the largest group in the student body.—THE STATE PUBLISHING HOUSE of Moscow issued recently 1,000,000 dictionaries in seven foreign languages, and all were sold by the end of February last.—STUDENTS OF LAW in fifteen universities of France voted at a meeting on March 7 at their headquarters in Toulouse to go on a strike on March 8-9 in protest against a bill passed by the Chamber of Deputies reducing the scholastic requirements for applicants for licenses to practice law.

NECROLOGY—MISS KATE B. MILLER, Instructor in English at Columbia University, died in New York on March 18 at the age of 64. Born in California, she studied at Simpson College, Iowa, and was graduated from the University of Chicago. After her appointment to University Extension at Columbia in 1921, she devoted herself to the instruction of foreigners in the English language. Among the hundreds of her students were a number of well-known scholars from the Romance nations. In collaboration with some specialists she translated from Russian, Polish and other languages various collections of folk-tales.—OTIS M. BIGELOW, JR., head of the French Department at the Storm King School for the past five years, died at Cornwall-on-Hudson, N. Y., on Feb. 12 in his 51st year. After receiving his A.B. degree from Yale in 1904 and his A.M. two years later, he engaged in teaching at Phillips Exeter Academy. He is survived by a widow and a son.—SISTER APOLLONIA LIGUORI, a member of the Sisters of Charity for 57 years, died at the College of Mount St. Joseph, Cincinnati, O., on Feb. 12 in the 83rd year of her age. She was born in Italy and came to the United States in her youth. St. Alphonso di Liguori of Naples (1696-1787), who founded the Redemptorist Order of Priests, was a distant relative. Sister Apollonia painted the murals at Seton High School, Cincinnati.—MAN CESPED, the Bolivian poet, died at La Paz on March 28. His best known work was *Profane Symbols*. He was often compared to the Hindu poet, Tagore.—FERDINAND BUISSON, "the world's most persistent pacifist", died on Feb. 16 at his home in Oise, France, at the age of 91. In 1867, along with Garibaldi, he attended the first congress for peace and liberty. Two years later he delivered an impassioned speech at the second congress, which was held at Lausanne under

the presidency of Victor Hugo. After the war of 1871 he was recalled from Switzerland, where he had been living as a political exile, in order to aid in the reconstruction of France's educational system. On account of his multifarious activities he was unable to present himself for the doctorate at the University of Paris until 1891 when he was in his 50th year. Using as his "devise" the words of Michelet (*Renaissance*), "un pauvre proté d'imprimerie, Sébastien Chateillon, posa pour tout l'avenir la grande loi de la tolérance", he prepared a masterly dissertation entitled "*Sébastien Castellion, sa Vie et son Œuvre (1515-1563)*" (Paris, 1891, 778 pp.). But notwithstanding his success in the scholarly field, the remainder of his life was destined to be absorbed by his efforts in behalf of world peace. He was for many years President of the League for the Rights of Man; and, to culminate his noble life, in 1927 the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to him and to Professor Ludwig Quidde of Germany.—CHARLES LE GOFFIC, poet, novelist and member of the French Academy, died on Feb. 12 at the home of his son in Lannion near Brest. He was born in 1863 and made his literary début in 1889 with a volume of verse, *Amour breton*, which was followed in 1892 by *Le Pardon de la Reine Anne*. His most important novels include *Morgana* and *L'Erreur de Florence*, while in criticism he is known for his *Nouveau Traité de Versification française* (1890) and a recent two-volume work on French literature of the 19th and 20th centuries. Finally a book in which he related his experiences while fighting with a brigade of Breton marines won him a place among the foremost descriptive writers of the World War.—PROFESSOR CHARLES GIDE, famous French scholar who specialized in the co-operative and political economy fields, died in Paris on March 13. He was born in Uzès in 1847, and was educated at the Collège d'Uzès and at the Faculté de Droit in Paris. In 1931 Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, then visiting London, named him, along with some half-dozen other international figures, as a candidate to attend "an international conference of economists and business leaders—not one of whom would have official connection with any government", a scheme proposed by Dr. Butler to consider measures for the relief of the worldwide economic situation. Prof. Gide's most important work was the *Principles of Political Economy*, which went into 26 editions and was translated into many languages. Other works of his, which likewise enjoyed wide circulation, were *Cooperation; Institutions of Social Progress; History of Economic Doctrines* (in collaboration with M. Rist); and *First Ideas of Political Economy*.—PAUL GINISTY, well-known French author, died in Paris on March 5 at the age of 73. A prolific writer since his literary début in 1882, his works included poems, novels, memoirs, essays, biographies and plays. He was in addition Vice-President of the Association of Republican Journalists, President of the Association of Dramatic and Musical Critics, President of the Association of Former War Correspondents and, for several years, Director of the Odéon.—EMILE MASSARD, French journalist and author, died at Paris on Jan. 26 at the age of 74. His books include: *Heroic France; The Next War; and Spies in Paris During the Great War*. He was an Officer of the Legion of Honor and held the Croix de Guerre for his service with the general staff of the Sixth Army during the Battle of the Marne.—MONSIGNOR ALFRED E. PETIT, founder of the Nancy Passion Play, died at Cannes on Feb. 9 at the age of 72.—GEORGES-MARIE HAARDT, French explorer, died at Hongkong, China, on March 15 at the age of

46. He was the leader of the Citroën-Haardt Transasiatic Expedition, which, organized by the National Geographic Society, left Beirut, Syria, on April 4, 1931, and reached Peiping on Feb. 12, 1932. En route the party visited places which, according to Dr. Gilbert Grosvenor, President of the above Society, "have never been studied since the days of Marco Polo".—PRINCESS BLANCHE OF ORLEANS, granddaughter of Louis-Philippe, died in Paris on Feb. 4 at the age of 74. She was born in England, the youngest of three children of her exiled father, Louis, Duc de Nemours, the second son of the former king. Louis, who was elected King of the Belgians at the age of 17—an honor which his father declined for him—returned to France after the exile imposed on him was withdrawn in 1871, and after serving in several military expeditions in Algeria, died at Versailles in 1896 at the age of 81. Louis was great-uncle of the Duc de Guise, present pretender to the French throne. Princess Blanche, who was the last survivor of her family, never married.—DR. WILLEM CALAND, famous philologist and formerly professor in Utrecht University, died at Utrecht on March 24 at the age of 72.—PROFESSOR WILHELM LUDWIG SCHREIBER, Germany's greatest authority on incunabula woodcuts, died at Neubeckum, Westphalia, on Feb. 12 at an advanced age. Beginning in 1891 and continuing until 1911, he published in French his chief work, *Manuel de l'amateur de la gravure au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in which he listed all the separately printed woodcuts and illustrated books of the period. He was among the first to maintain that blockbooks were not precursors of typographically printed works. He revised and amplified the above work in a German *handbuch* in eight volumes which appeared during 1926-1930. During his youth Professor Schreiber spent three years in New York, where he developed a friendship for American students that he continued throughout his long life.—MAX LENZ, the historian, died in Berlin on April 7, at the age of 81. He began his academic career as Professor of Medieval and Modern History at Marburg, later passing to Breslau and finally joining the Faculty of the University of Berlin, where he taught from 1890 to 1919, and of which he was Rector in 1911-12. His chief works were *Martin Luther* (1883), which had attained a third edition by 1897; *Bismarck* (1899); and *Napoleon* (1905).

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—THE PRIX FÉMINA AMÉRICAIN was organized on Feb. 18 by Mme Jeanne Dauban. Its purpose will be to choose each year the "imaginative work in prose or poetry that seems most worthy of expressing to France the spirit and character of America." The Prix Fémina Anglais was formed in England in 1920.—PROFESSOR E. R. SILVERS, of Rutgers University, author of many boys' books, announced on Feb. 29 a list of 20 best books for boys selected by 1,000 boys throughout the United States. The only foreign books in the list are Dumas, *The Three Musketeers*, and Verne, *Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea*.—THE STABILIMENTO TIPOGRAFICO G. B. MARSANO of Genoa, Italy, issued recently an unusually beautiful folio edition of Guido Cavalcanti's *Rime*. THE ROMANIC REVIEW extends to the famous publisher its warmest congratulations on the typographical excellence of the work.—THE 400TH ANNIVERSARY OF RABELAIS'S PANTAGRUEL will be celebrated in France this year. While the exact date of the great classic is not certain, it is generally believed that it was published about 1532. Consequently Parisian publishers are issuing new editions of the book. A letter written in

Greek and Latin by Rabelais in March, 1522, to Guillaume Budé, the great humanist, was sold in Paris on Jan. 29 to Baron Henri de Rothschild for 75,000 francs. The letter formed part of the collection of the late Henry Fatio of Geneva.—LA SOCIÉTÉ CHATEAUBRIAND has been formed recently with its headquarters in the former residence of the author of *René*, La Vallée aux Loups at Chatenay-Malabry, which now belongs to Dr. Henry Le Savoureaux. The membership fee of the society is 50 fr. a year, which includes subscription to a *Bulletin* of which two issues have appeared.—EVEN LÉON DAUDET is now on the Index. His new novel, *Les Bacchantes*, was placed on the forbidden list by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office on Feb. 20. A decree signed by Pope Pius, says the *New York Times* of Feb. 21, "states that the novel is 'extremely obscene'".—PREMIER MUSSOLINI is completing a work in which he will relate the part played by Italians in building up the New World, according to news dispatches of March 30.—GIOACCHINO FORZANO's play entitled *Villa Franca*, which has Premier Mussolini as co-author, received an ovation at its première in Rome on March 16. The plot deals with the diplomatic and military events that brought about the unification of Italy. While the Premier suggested the plot of *Campo di Maggio* (known in English as *The Hundred Days*) in 1929, this is said to be the first play, according to the *New York Times* of March 17, that he "admittedly helped to write". However, his name does not appear on the covers of *Villa Franca*.—THE THEATRE IN ITALY does not seem to be in any better condition than that of Paris or New York. Walter Littlefield, writing in the *New York Times* of March 13, says that "to judge from articles signed by well-known playwrights and critics which are constantly appearing, the stage over there is a very sick institution." He makes an exception, however, of Il Teatro Dialettale, "whose varied origins and lines of development have for centuries been things apart." Consequently Mr. D'Amico, dramatic critic of *La Tribuna* at Rome, wrote recently a pamphlet entitled *La Crisi del Teatro*, in which he attributes the causes of its decadence to over-stressing of stars which entailed a lack of disciplined, coöordinated acting in the interpretation of plays. He remarks further that the Italian theatre will never rise out of "its present tragic condition so long as its exponents are traveling repertory companies, whose members spend lives in an exhausting alternation of trying to make their employers famous by playing rôles for which their only recommendation is that they 'look the part'." As these "contingencies emphasize the need of stable companies with permanent homes", D'Amico suggests the creation of three such homes: one in Rome which would have attached to it a school of dramatic art, a miniature experimental stage, a library and a museum; one in Milan which would be a "tryout" stage for both actors and plays; and one in Turin which would have connected with it a school of the mechanics of the stage. Impressed with the ideas of this critic, Premier Mussolini ordered the Ministers of Education and Corporations to study the causes of the decadence of the theatre and to point out the way toward rehabilitation. Their report, recently made, agrees with the contentions of D'Amico and suggests the inauguration of a "National Institute of the Drama", composed of representatives from the above Ministries, the professional corporations and the Society of Authors, in order to direct the project. The one great obstacle, however, to the immediate promulgation of the plan is the finding of the \$90,000 needed annually for this purpose.—PARIS

THEATRES seem to be undergoing a new development through an extension of the author-manager type of directorship. To the list which has heretofore included Henry Bernstein, Sacha Guitry and Louis Verneuil may be added Edouard Bourdet, who became recently joint manager of the Michodière, and Alfred Savoir, who produced his latest play under his own management at the Pigalle. This new tendency is expected to receive further impetus from the fact that business men are no longer able, by reason of losses in their commercial ventures, to indulge in such expensive whims as theatrical management.—SOME 3,200 THEATRES and places of amusement, such as movie houses, music halls, circuses and cabarets, in all parts of France joined in a 24 hour strike on April 5 in protest against the failure of the Government to grant them taxation relief. The movement started with the resignation in March of the Director of the Opéra, Jacques Rouché, who gave as his reason that he was unable to keep the historic institution functioning properly because cancellations of annual subscriptions along with the drop in box office receipts had increased its deficit to \$120,000. When the directors of the more than 40 legitimate theatres of Paris decided on March 21 to close their doors on March 29, they were speedily joined by managers of other amusement enterprises. This longer shut-down was averted on March 27 after Premier Tardieu announced, following a conference with their representatives, that the amusement tax would be reduced from 5% to 2½% and that the Government would grant to the motion picture industry a credit of \$500,000. "The compromise was not entirely satisfactory", according to the *New York Herald Tribune* of April 6, "and the owners continued to demand cuts". It was estimated that the Government lost about 1,500,000 francs (\$58,500) in taxes as a result of the strike.—PLAYS produced in Paris during the past quarter include Lenormand's "really noble play" *Asie*, based on the Medea-theme, which Philip Carr, writing in the *New York Times* of Jan. 10, finds to be "very profoundly moving" in its first two acts but loses its "balance" in the last act because the savage princess, no longer "made noble by her suffering", poisons her two little boys "who are unconscious of their doom"; Jacques Deval's beautiful play, *Mademoiselle*, which deals with a governess who, out of mother-love, sacrifices herself in order to protect the illegitimate offspring of her wordly charge, and which the above critic, in the *Times* of Jan. 31, calls an "adroitly composed, nicely balanced and brightly written" play by a "young, good-humored, observant man of the world"; Sacha Guitry's "dextrous skill and masterly originality" in his handling of the threadbare theme, treated by Plautus, Molière and Shakespeare and more recently by Tristan Bernard and Jean Giraudoux, of the similarity of two men to one another, so perfect that even their wives are deceived; the late Fernand Nozière's adaptation from a story by Stefan Zweig, dealing with a widow and a gambler, of which the plot is that of a novelist rather than that of a playwright; the French adaptation of Noel Coward's *Home Chat*, originally produced in London in October, 1927, which French critics found to be unreal and lacking in life; Louis Verneuil and Georges Berr's rather stupid play about a queen who runs away to Paris with a cabaret singer because her king neglects her; René Benjamin's *Paris*, which Philip Carr, writing in the *Times* of Feb. 14, calls "a rather conventional melodrama of the sentimental and homely sort", which relates the story of a taxi-driver who commits suicide "in order no longer to be a social obstacle to the marriage

of his daughter", and which contains several "rather self-conscious outbursts of almost lyrical praise" of Paris and its common people; Michel Mourguet's first play, *Amitié*, a comedy produced at the Nouveautés, which has "a real freshness of attack", but also "a certain false theatricalism, due to the fact that he is an actor", and which deals with the theme of Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*, "namely, that a man or a woman can fall in love merely through learning that he or she is loved by some one who cannot or will not declare the fact"; Simon Gantillon's *Bifur*, a drama of love and death, the exposition of whose story is "one of the most simply beautiful things that has been seen on the French stage for years", according to Philip Carr in the *Times* of Feb. 28, but whose charm is destroyed by "a sort of scientific touch of modernity" in the portrayal of the various cross-roads of life; Marcel Achard's fantasy, *Domino*, produced with great success by Louis Jouvet, which, though "it has charm and distinction", remains nevertheless "a pretty sentimental romance" of a penniless adventurer who answers an advertisement of a wife who wishes to protect her real lover by substituting him in his place; Jean Sarment's *Le Plancher des Vaches*, which reveals that the poetry, "tender fancy" and "disillusioned but youthful sympathy" of the author's earlier Musset-like plays are now reduced to a formula; Francis de Croisset's *Il était une fois*, which is "a preposterous poison story, whose scene is laid in an aristocratic English country house"; René Fauchois's *Prenez garde à la peinture*, a comedy about the posthumous celebrity of a despised painter, which "is hardly better than its punning title"; Charles Vildrac's *Le Jardinier de Samos*, a rather stupid political and social satire; and André Gide's *Œdipe*, which, with its very modern and intellectually arrogant *Œdipus*, is not at all dramatic, notwithstanding Pitoeff's excellent production of it; Charles Méré's free adaptation and compression of *King Lear*, which converts Shakespeare's work into "a modern romantic melodrama"; Henri Decoin's *Hector*, whose theme is the neglect shown toward war-heroes, and which is saved by excellent sketches of life in a Salvation Army shelter; Pierre Rocher's *Chambre d'Hôtel*, whose interest is supplied also by sketches of life; Paul Raynal's *Au soleil de l'instinct*, which according to Philip Carr in the *Times* of March 20, is "composed with the most subtle balance and the most absolute solidity", and of which "the story is much the same as that of *Le Maître de son Coeur*, Raynal's earlier play"; Sacha Guitry's production of *Le Rapide de Minuit*, a translation of John Wexley's successful play given in New York under the title of *The Last Mile*; Jules Supervielle's *La Belle au Bois*, which Philip Carr calls, in the *Times* of April 3, "an agreeably poetic fairy tale"; Yves Mirande's *L'Homme nu*, a farce that follows the Palais-Royal tradition; a revival of Tristan Bernard's *Triplepatte* at the Variétés; Jacques Natanson's *Michel*, which "has been too obviously written to fit" the actor, de Féraudy, "for Natanson's talent to do itself justice"; Alfred Savoir's *La Pâtissière du village*, whose "apparently calm and rural title", according to the above critic, "is that of a bitterly ironical war play"; Paul Morand's first offering at the Comédie-Française, *Le Voyageur et l'Amour*, a two-act playlet, which, though weak as a drama, nevertheless contains writing that is "very intelligent, very bright and very modern"; Stève Passeur's *Les Tricheurs*, produced by Dullin at the Atelier, a play dealing with the brutal, sensual realism of the post-War generation, and of which, as in all of Passeur's plays, the first act is, dramatically

speaking, excellent and the other two acts something of an anticlimax; Pierre Wolff's *La Belle de Nuit*, given at the Athénée, which Philip Carr, in the *Times* of April 10, calls "an ingenious and effective vehicle for the display of the variety of talent of Madeleine Soria in two contrasted parts"; and François Porché's *La Race Errante*, produced at the Odéon, which, according to the above critic, contains "an idealism, a dramatic force and a poetry that give a very high value to certain scenes", but which is, at the same time, "unequal", especially in the "more or less realistic picture of labor troubles" and of the world of high finance among the Jews of New York.—FRANCE has been making during the past two years extraordinary efforts to develop the talking film industry. Though at the beginning of 1931 the productions were still very largely silent, at present more than half of the 1,000 theatres of the country have sound equipment, and there are besides some 25 studios for making such pictures. M. Maurice Petsche, Under-Secretary of State for Fine Arts, estimated in a recent address the cost of this transformation from the silent to the talking film at \$130,000,000. Estimates of the number of French films produced in 1931 vary. According to one review there were 186, of which 103 were made in France by French companies, and 83 made in French in foreign countries. A more optimistic estimate is that there were 240 French talking films produced last year, of which 200 were created in France. "In addition", says H. L. Matthews in the *New York Times* of Feb. 7, "there were 18 films produced by the method of 'dubbing', which consists in substituting the French language for the language of the original, without changing the picture." However, at the time Mr. Matthews was writing, there were being exhibited in Paris 6 American films, 5 German films and 3 Russian films besides a number of dialogue pictures in English and a few in German.—RENÉ CLAIR, who directed the talking films *Sous les Toits de Paris* and *Le Million*, has again bewildered his critics with his third production entitled *A Nous La Liberté*. Some find it inconsequential and valueless, a mere "groping for a medium by which he can compress his dreams into the demands of the motion picture", while others consider its appeal to be universal, a real work of art from which, says H. L. Matthews in the *New York Times* of Jan. 31, "one comes away with the feeling that any medium which can produce such a work has a great future."—RAYMOND BERNARD's war-film, *Les Croix de Bois*, drawn from the book of the same title by Raymond Dorgelès, made a profound impression when it was first produced in Paris in March. In fact, the praise of certain critics is so lavish that one wonders whether they have not allowed their emotions to get the better of them.—THE DEPRESSION has caused Paris to turn from the sombre film to the gay Viennese operetta type, but in a French setting. This mode was set by *Le Congrès s'amuse*, a German production. Then in March came the Paramount-Joinville production of *Il est charmant*, with music by Raoul Moretti, which, according to H. L. Matthews in the *Times* of March 27, "received extravagant praise from all critics." This was followed by the Pathé-Natan production of *Paris-Méditerranée*, a very amusing and melodious operetta picture, directed by the young Joë May. Finally, mention may be made of *La Fille et le Garçon*, a German bi-lingual production, similar to *Le Congrès s'amuse*.—LONDON THEATRES seem to be turning away from Germany and Austria to France, from Toller, Werfel and Molnar to Lenormand, Jean-Jacques Bernard and others of the modern French school. Recently François

de Curel's *L'Envers d'une Sainte* was produced in London in a very good adaptation entitled *The Dark Saint*, by Barbara Ling. The only defect of the English version is that Miss Ling was obliged to elaborate the dialogue of the original in order to give Miss Thorndike, says Charles Morgan in the *New York Times* of Feb. 21, "an opportunity for a very effective spectacular performance." André Obey's *Bataille de la Marne*, which was produced in London in the original by La Compagnie des Quinze, proved, according to the same critic, "a profound disappointment".—THE GUERRERO-MENDOZA TROUPE of Spanish players, after a visit to Porto Rico in March, began a limited engagement at the New Yorker Theatre on April 1. The plays presented included the following: Joaquin Dicenta's *Pluma en el viento*; *Mariquilla Terremoto*, a comedy by the Quinteros; *La sombra* from the Italian of Dario Niccodemi; *El genio alegre*, a comedy by the Quinteros; Eduardo Marquina's *En Flandes se ha puesto el sol*; *Los mosquitos*, another comedy by the Quinteros; Benavente's *La mariposa que voló sobre el mar*; Echegaray's *El gran Galeoto*; and Henry Bernstein's *La rafaga*. In the spring of 1926 María Guerrero, then known as Spain's greatest tragic actress, and her husband, Fernando Diaz de Mendoza, played a limited engagement at the Manhattan Opera House in New York. Associated with the present troupe are the famous actress's daughter as well as other members of the family.—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS, produced recently in New York, include the following: *Wolves*, Barrett H. Clark's translation of a play by Romain Rolland, which J. Brooks Atkinson characterized as "a turgid play, written for a departed purpose"; *Arsène Lupin*, a screen adaptation of the play by Maurice Le Blanc and Francis de Croisset, with Lionel and John Barrymore in the leading rôles, first produced on Feb. 26; *Le Mystère de la Villa Rose*, a French talking film based on the novel of A. E. W. Mason; *Jean de la Lune*, a French dialogue film with music, presented on March 11, which was highly praised for its excellent technical effects; *We Are No Longer Children*, a play by Léopold Marchand, adapted from the French by Ilka Chase and W. B. Murray, which was given at the Booth Theatre on April 1 and which J. Brooks Atkinson characterized as "fine-grained, genuine and beautiful" but nevertheless "tepid and languid"; the French-language musical film comedy, *Il est charmant*, which came to New York on April 8 from the Paramount's studios in France and of which the acting of Henri Garat and Mlle Lemonnier, as well as the photography, direction and sound reproduction, were praised; *Il ladro*, an Italian translation of *Le Voleur* by Henry Bernstein, produced on Feb. 21 by the Teatro d'Arte; *Rubacuori*, a film comedy in Italian, given on March 4, with the veteran actor Armando Falconi in the leading rôle, whose excellent performance was highly praised by critics; *T'amo e sarai mia*, an Italian translation of Louis Verneuil's comedy, produced on March 20 by the Teatro d'Arte and of which the English version by Gladys Unger, known as *The Love Habit*, was first acted in New York in 1921; *Zappatore*, an Italian musical film, given on March 27, which contains some excellent scenes of life in Naples; Pietro Barnini and Gino Chelazzi's *Il canto della vita*, presented by the Teatro d'Arte under the direction of Giuseppe Sterni at the Little Theatre on April 3, which Walter Littlefield characterizes, in the *Times* of April 4, as a drama "full of suspense, if not of action."

J. L. G.

